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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

The Nave of Westminster

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of the Community of the Resurrection

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Fellow of the Academy

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THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

Frontispiece.]

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THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

By the Rev. R. B. RACKHAM

COMMUNICATED BY THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

March 17, 1909

The Nave of Westminster was one hundred and fifty years in building, viz. from 1376 to 1528; but although it was not finished until two hundred and fifty years after Henry III had completed the eastern part of the church—the presbytery, choir, and transepts—yet the builders of the nave adhered to the original pattern and style of Henry's work. Differences there are no doubt in the details of their work, but they are such as escape the ordinary eye. This conservatism is almost unique in the history of our great medieval churches; Beverley is, I believe, the only other instance. It gives to Westminster Abbey a unity and a harmony which largely contribute to its special beauty. It is therefore interesting to inquire who were the builders and architects who were original enough not to seek after originality in their work. The hundred and fifty years during which the present nave was slowly rising to its completion witnessed many changes both in the monastery of St. Peter and in the adjacent palace of Westminster: and since kings as well as abbots and monks had a share in its building, the story of the nave may justly claim a niche, however small, in the great edifice of English History.

The architectural history has been written by the architects, Sir Gilbert Scott,[1] Mr. Micklethwaite,[2] and Mr. Lethaby,[3] who have carefully studied the fabric and told us all that the stones have to tell. But we are especially fortunate in possessing among the muniments preserved in the Abbey itself the series—unhappily not entirely perfect[4]

[1] In *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 1863: Mr. Scott's name alone appeared upon the title page, but the book was in fact edited by Mr. J. H. Parker. Mr. Burt was the source of information about the rolls.

[2] In *Westminster Abbey Historically Described*, Feasey and Micklethwaite, 1899.

[3] In *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 1906.

[4] See the table on p. 64.

—of the fabric rolls for the whole period. They are known as the *compotus* (i. e. account) rolls of the Warden of the *Novum Opus*. Their existence was indeed known at second hand to Sir Gilbert Scott. He derived some important information from them, and in his *Gleanings* he printed abstracts of them up to the time of Henry V (pp. 253 f.). Further than this he did not go. His interest was absorbed in the investigation of the history of the earlier and more important eastern part of the church, and the rolls from the time of Henry V to the end do not seem to have been looked at since the days of Richard Widmore, the historian of the Abbey in the eighteenth century.[1] Now, however, in the twentieth century they have once more been read; and this paper is an endeavour to make known the results of their examination. It aims therefore at being not an architectural but a documentary history of the building of the nave.

(*The Novum Opus*)

A word of preface must first be said about the rolls of the *Novum Opus*. A fire which destroyed nearly all the buildings of the monastery on March 29, 1298, was made the pretext of obtaining from the Pope the appropriation of the church—or, as we should say now, the rectory—of Longdon in Worcestershire. The appropriation was not, in fact, secured until the year 1335; but after that time the convent of Westminster received from the tithes of Longdon an annual rent of 40 marks (*£26 13s. 4d.*). This sum served as the nucleus of a fund for building purposes; and the fund was put under the charge and administration of a special officer called the Warden of the New Work (*custos novi operis*), who took his place among the other officers or obedientiaries, as they were usually called, of the convent, and like them had to render an annual account of his receipts and expenses. Such was the origin of the 'office of the new work' (*officium novi operis*), which lasted until the dissolution of the monastery, and which was mainly responsible for the building of the nave.

From 1344 to 1365 the income from Longdon was devoted to the rebuilding of the cloister; and after that it went to the rebuilding of the infirmary. Presently, however, when the rebuilding of the nave was undertaken, that became *par excellence* the *Novum Opus*. But

[1] Widmore certainly read these rolls, and he has summarized their contents in his terse and masterly manner in his *History of Westminster Abbey*, 1751. See pp. 59–61, 80, 90, 111, 113, 118, 125. But the very terseness of his remarks has prevented them from attracting due attention.

£26 13*s.* 4*d.*, though it might represent from £300 to £400 of our money, was but a small income for so great a task. Accordingly steps were taken to increase the fund. In 1365 the convent purchased from the widow of one Robert Longdon certain lands and tenements in Westminster, for which the treasurer paid £66 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1375 he paid Robert Kentbury, a mason, £36 13*s.* 4*d.* for the exchange of one of Longdon's tenements for a tenement which had once belonged to a certain Cardoyl. These 'rents within the township of Westminster' (*redditus infra villam Westm'*), otherwise 'Longdon's rents', were at first assigned to the sacrist, to whom properly belonged the care of the fabric of the church. Accordingly we find them entered by Richard Honyngton in his account for 1377–8; but in his next (extant) account for 1379–80 they are absent, so that we may assume that in that or the previous year they were given to the *Novum Opus*. If the above sums were all that was paid for these tenements, the investment was a lucrative one, for the average rental came to about £25 or £26 a year. Among them were two important hostelries in King Street, the Bell and the Sarsonhed[1]; the latter being situated at the corner where the street turned towards the great gate of the Palace. Moreover, in 1380–1 the 'monk baily' (i. e. bailiff) John Lakyngheth was commissioned to examine the accounts of the various officers of the convent to see what they could severally contribute to 'the work of the new church'. His estimate amounted to £245 6*s.* 4½*d.*, or, deducting tenths, £213 18*s.* 7¼*d.*[2] But it does not appear that any contributions were paid to our account. Longdon's rents, however, served as the sacrist's contribution, and it was probably in lieu of further contributions that the convent assigned to the *Novum Opus* the farm (*firma*) of the manor of 'Padington' which belonged to the almoner, and the farm of the manor of 'Hide', an estate which had been much improved by Nicholas Litlyngton when he was prior. The rent of Paddington was £20 a year, and that of Hyde £13 6*s.* 8*d.* So when the *Novum Opus* rolls begin again after a long gap from 1365 to 1387, we find that the office enjoys an annual income of £85 a year.[3]

[1] i. e. the Saracen's Head.

[2] *Liber Niger*, ff. 85[b], 140: the MS. has £265 by mistake for £245.

[3] The rent of Hyde appears for the first time in 1390–1. It ought to be mentioned that Abbot Bircheston, who had been the first warden of the new work (+1341–4) and died in 1349, provided for his anniversary by leaving all the abbot's emolument derived from the market (*nundinae*) of St. Edward *in usum et utilitatem operis claustralis et locutorii; quibus plenarie peractis, cedat*

(*Langham and Litlyngton*)

To come now to our subject, the building of the present nave of the church, the story of its commencement has been recently told elsewhere,[1] and we need only summarize it here. When Henry III rebuilt the eastern part of the church he left the old Norman nave standing at the west end of his new choir.[2] This Norman nave, which had been built in the twelfth century, must have been a massive building on the scale of the naves of Ely, Norwich, and Bury St. Edmunds. It was not so lofty as Henry's new choir, but was no doubt linked to it in a seemly manner. Moreover, it had been recently put in repair, or, as we should say, restored, in the years 1338–44.[3] Who then had the daring mind to determine that this great building must be demolished, and a new and still more noble nave erected? There is no doubt as to the answer. It was Simon Langham. Simon Langham was abbot here from 1349 to 1362; then he became successively Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, and finally a Cardinal resident at Avignon. But he retained his love for Westminster, to which at his death in 1376 he left his accumulated wealth.

Langham became abbot at a time of expansion at Westminster, when the convent was endeavouring to correspond with the lofty ideal set before them in Henry's new church by renewing the other buildings of the monastery on a worthier scale; and he saw that these efforts must be crowned by the erection of a nave which

deinde totale eiusdem proficuum in sustentationem, usum et gubernaculum operis novae fabricae nostrae ecclesiae (Flete, ed. Robinson, p. 129). The *Novum Opus* enjoyed some little profit from this source, but the sacrist kept the greater part of it in his own hands.

[1] By the Dean of Westminster in an article on 'Simon Langham' in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1908.

[2] For the western limit of Henry's work see the diagram of the nave which Mr. A. G. Wallace has kindly drawn for me, and which shows the numbering of the bays which I have adopted.

[3] Cf. sacrist's roll for 1338: *in i intercluso faciendo inter novum opus et vetus tam in muris lapideis quam terreis* £4 2*s.* 3*d.*, *pro coopertura australis ale veteris ecclesie deponenda et de novo facienda* £6 3*s.* 6*d.*, *pro coopertura veteris ecclesie ruinosa scaffoldanda cum clatibus ne malum eveniret per decasum alicuius partis eiusdem* 28*s.* 2*d.* And *Novum Opus* roll 1341–4: 200 trees are bought and carried *usque bellfrey*, timber is raised to a height, boards are bought *pro tecto inferiori*; 4 stones are bought for capitals, and 11 corbels, and Walter le Bole receives £20 *pro iv fenestris et i magn' pelir emendand' et fac'*, and 30*s.* *pro aluris faciend'*; a plasterer is paid £2 *ad plastrand' et dealband' medietatem ecclesie*; and the lead bill comes to £71 18*s.* 4*d.* The work seems to have been finished, for the scaffolding is taken down, and the next account, Easter to Nov. 1344, is for work in the cloister.

should match the dignity of Henry's choir. He was called away, however, before he could initiate the enterprise; and his successor, Nicholas Litlyngton, who completed the new cloister in 1365, seemed to be absorbed in the task of rebuilding the domestic offices of the convent and his own house. But Langham, now cardinal, impatiently urged the inception of the work and promised £200 a year as soon as it should begin. Accordingly at Michaelmas 1375 Litlyngton made a start. Seven masons—and later ten—were set to break down the side of the old church next the cloister; and next year, having enough stone to build the wall 12 feet in height and 3 pillars in length, he writes to Langham's auditor: 'I myself laid the first stone on the first Monday in Lent [March 3, 1376] in honour of God and St. Peter and in the name of our most honoured lord [i. e. the cardinal].'

Here, unfortunately, our information suddenly stops. There are no *Novum Opus* rolls extant from Michaelmas 1365 to Michaelmas 1387, the year after Litlyngton's death. But we may assume that for the last ten of these years the slender income of the *Novum Opus* was supplemented out of the legacy of the cardinal, who had died at Avignon on July 22, 1376. In the roll for 1387–8 we have this entry: 'For the wages of three labourers breaking the walls of the old church (*frangent' muros veteris ecclesie*) and doing other things, and for other expenses incurred in the time of William Mordon,[1] *£3 2s. 3d.*' This is the last allusion to the breaking down of the old church,[2] which had thus extended over twelve years, 1375–87.

[1] William Mordon succeeded John Mordon the warden of the *N. O.* (*ob.* 1379) who had rebuilt the cloister (1344–65), and then the infirmary (1366–70). He was also sacrist from Oct. 30, 1371 to Nov. 30, 1377, and probably became warden when he was made sacrist. For the income from Longdon Rectory now appears in the sacrist's accounts, with that from Longdon's rents, and they both remain with him till 1377–8 (see above, p. 5). In these years W. Mordon spent a good deal of money on the *opus ecclesie*; but one or two items serve to show that this *opus* was confined to the eastern part of the church. Thus in 1373–4 gargoyles are mentioned, and £7 11*s.* was spent *in ccc pedibus de crestis pro arsbotamis* (archbuttresses): again in 1377–8 6 boatloads of stone were used up *circa batellament' ecclesie et super pinnacul' dom' capitular' et in al' locis in ecclesia.*

[2] Two entries in the *Liber Niger* refer to the disposal of the materials of the old church. On f. 80 we read *Dñs Nichūs Litelton tunc abbas Westm' cum perfecisset structuram edificii sui novi in placea sua apud Westm' petiit a conventu habere partem plumbi veteris ecclesie ad operiendum edificium suum novum* (viz. Jerusalem Chamber and the College Hall); the writer goes on to explain how the abbot managed to evade payment for the same. On f. 145 b among extracts from the treasurer's rolls occurs this: *anno septimo* (1383–4) *solut' Willō Mordon magistro novi operis pro meremio coopertur' veteris ecclesie in parte de xxvi li. xiii s. iiii d. sic empt'* £6 13*s.* 4*d.* The

From our knowledge of subsequent events we can infer that what other work was done was confined to laying such new foundations as were necessary, and to raising the outer wall of the nave along its whole circuit (see pp. 11–12).

(Colchester, Peter Combe, and Richard II)

Nicholas Litlyngton died on Nov. 29, 1386. How much he had pressed on the work we cannot tell. Widmore, who does not speak without authority, says (*l. c.*, p. 59): '[Simon Langham] bequeathed a great deal to the fabric, which, though intended, I apprehend, for the body of the church, Abbot Litlyngton applied to the out-buildings.'[1] The fact that there are no *N. O.* rolls for his time seems to suggest that Litlyngton kept the management of the cardinal's money under his own control. In any case his death was followed by an era of activity, when once his successor was fully established.[2] William Colchester was elected, but the king was angry at the choice, and the new abbot was not actually installed till October 13, 1387. There was also a new and energetic warden of the *N. O.*, Peter Combe, who had been appointed sacrist at Michaelmas 1385, and entered on his new office at Michaelmas 1387. With Peter Combe the account rolls begin again, starting with a deficit of £28 passed on from William Mordon.

The new activity was largely due to royal help. Richard II was devoted to the Church of St. Peter at Westminster[3]; and now, being twenty years of age, promised £100 a year to the new work, starting from Easter 1387. But the political misfortunes which almost immediately ensued hindered him from fully carrying out his promise.[4] However, owing to the war with France, which

treasurer at that time was making large disbursements for rebuilding the offices of the convent.

[1] Litlyngton left some money for the work: in 1387–8 the warden received £60 *per manus Iohannis Caunterbury ex assignatione Nicholai Lytlington quondam abbatis.*

[2] In 1387–8 the masons work only seventeen weeks, but in the next and following years for fifty-two weeks. The rolls of the *N. O.* run, as a rule, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, so for accuracy's sake we have to cite them thus, 1387–8; but the chief body of the work may generally be ascribed to the latter of the years.

[3] As appears very evidently from a paper read before the British Academy by the Dean of Westminster on *An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler.* In his will Richard claimed to have started the new work: *de omnibus iocalibus residuis . . . . perficiatur nova fabrica navis ecclesie sancti Petri Westm' per nos incepta* (Rymer, *Foedera*, viii. 76).

[4] The only payment recorded before 1393–4 is £26 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1390–1, but the accounts for 1389–90 and 1391–3 are missing.

had put into the king's hands the alien priories in England, he was able to find another way of helping the convent. In 1389 he gave them the priory of Folkestone, which produced £20 a year. Then in 1391 he gave another alien priory, Stoke by Clare, on condition that the convent should pay out of the profits £100 a year to the new work in lieu of his promised contribution, and another £100 to the king himself (*Westm. Munim.* 6226). This arrangement was cancelled when in 1395 Stoke Priory was made indigenous, and instead of it the priory had to pay the convent the sum of 1,000 marks, spread over five years, being the fine to the king for their new charter of privilege.

In 1394 Queen Anne died, and Richard was distracted with grief. But her magnificent funeral in the Abbey proved a godsend to the *Novum Opus*, so great were the perquisites and the annual oblations on her anniversary which fell to its lot. For cloths of gold (*panni aurei*) offered at the funeral the warden received £66 13*s.* 4*d.*; and the same amount for the hearse (*hercia*).[1] Next year Angelo Christoforo gave £111 13*s.* 4*d.* for sixty-nine 'clothes of gold *de Raginas*'; Robert Ashcombe gave £13 6*s.* 8*d.* for three and a half white cloths (*panni albi coloris de Cipris*); other cloths fetched £6 10*s.* In 1395–6 'gold clothes offered at the anniversary of Queen Anne' fetched £3 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in the following year similar cloths were sold to William Horscroft for £42 13*s.* 4*d.* There is yet another sum of £40 mentioned in a later account, which makes the whole sum amount to £351 5*s.* 4*d.* Besides this there were gifts from the king, amounting to £266 13*s.* 4*d.*,[2] and an offering of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* from John of Gaunt.

With all these gifts and revenues Peter Combe, in the eight years alone for which we have his accounts, had received £2,192 10*s.* 4¾*d.*, and when he ceased to be warden on Nov. 25, 1399, soon after Richard's abdication, he left a deficit of £82 13*s.* What then had he done with this large sum, equal to something between £20,000 and £30,000 of our money?[3] To answer briefly, Peter Combe's great work was the purchase and placing of the marble pillars. In 1387–8 he paid £10 to a 'mason of Corfe' in part payment of £40 for one 'piler' of marble; and the last payment for marble (of £80), which must have

[1] In return for this the warden had to spend £20 in purchasing black cloth for 100 tunics, the making of which cost 35*s.* 4*d.* more, for the day of the funeral.

[2] Viz. £60 in 1393–4, £106 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1394–5, and £100 in 1396–7.

[3] A great deal of it had to be spent in necessary and incidental expenses, such as *redditus resoluti*, tenths, 'regards,' &c.

completed the series of pillars, occurs just after his time, in 1403–4.[1] The marble came from Purbeck; and the 'mason of Corfe' is otherwise 'John Mahu [or Mayew] marberer', who receives every year a 'robe'. The price of a 'piler' was £40, but some years £60 or £80 was paid. Such payments may have been either for two pillars or for one of the more massive piers under the towers. In all £490 was spent on marble pillars. This falls not far short of £520—the cost of ten pillars at £40 plus two pillars at £60; and as between 1387 and 1404 the accounts for six years are missing, we may assume without hesitation that all the pillars were in position by 1403 (see p. 13). It ought not to be forgotten that for this rich and striking feature of the nave we are indebted to Abbot Litlyngton. Langham, in his anxiety to see the work well advanced before his death, suggested having piers of stone. But the suggestion was not adopted by Litlyngton, although he himself did not live to see any of the marble in position.

Meanwhile the building of the walls was not neglected. In 1387–8 we find five masons working for seventeen weeks only; but the next and following years they work throughout the year, and the number of masons begins to increase until there are twenty at work in 1397. This does not include the master mason, Master Henry Yevele (Zevelee, Zyeveley), who has succeeded to John Palterton.[2] Yevele was, as Mr. Lethaby informs us, the king's master mason; for his work at the abbey he received an annual fee of £5 a year with a furred robe (10*s.* to 15*s.*). In 1394–5 we find the warden building a house for the masons, roofed with tiles, which was called the 'masons' logge'. There are indications that this was on the north side of the nave (see p. 23); and, if so, this must have been the beginning of that building which, after having been occupied by the masons for about 140 years, became a private dwelling-house, but still retained the title of 'masons' lodge' until, together with the other houses on the north side of the nave, it was removed in 1740.[3] Another house was built for the masons in Tothill Street, and later on the master mason occupied one of the sacrist's houses. The masons formed then, as they do to-day,

[1] For details see Appendix I, p. 51.

[2] John Palterton was master mason in 1349: the latest mention of him occurs in the sacrist's roll of 1373–4. For Yevele see Lethaby, *l.c.*, pp. 212–17. He made the tombs for Cardinal Langham and Queen Anne.

[3] It was Maurice Pickering's house, *c.* 1590; he was followed by Sir Edward Zouche, 1608; Dudley Norton came next, 1610; then in 1668 it was made into three small houses by John Shorter. See *Westminster Abbey in the Seventeenth Century* (Royal Institution paper, April 29, 1904), p. 7.

an Abbey 'staff'; and the warden paid them their wages week by week. There is no trace of any special guild of masons, or of any contract work undertaken by the master mason except in the single instance of Robert Stowell's 'convention' in 1489 (see p. 41).

The stone came from Reigate; and from this time down to the sixteenth century, if we may use the metaphor, there flowed every year a stream of stone, of varying volume, from the Reigate hills down to Westminster. In 1387 the warden was renting a quarry at 'Chalfdon' for £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year and working it himself; but four or five years later he found it more convenient to give up the quarry and buy the stone there instead. The stone was carried in carts to Batrichesey (or 'Batersey', as it is first called in 1447–8), where a garden called Briggekourt was hired for its storage at 3*s.* 4*d.* a year. Thence it was conveyed by boats to Westminster Mill, and thence again by carts to the lodge or church. In the middle of the fifteenth century the point of debouchement on the Thames was shifted to Wandelesworth, about which time we hear of the boats as 'showtes'.[1] In 1473–4 there was another move to 'le Fauxhalle' (or Fawkeshall), where a piece of land was rented from the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, for 3*s.* 4*d.* a year, and a wharf was built in 1476–7 at a cost of £11 (*le wharf apud Fawkeshall*).

Besides Reigate stone some 'Northern stone' was bought in 1393–4, and the following year sixty-two 'tontyt' of stone *de Came* at 6*s.* a tontyt, and sixty-four 'tontyt' of Northern stones at 7*s.* 6*d.* a tontyt. Such purchases recur subsequently. The Caen stone was, I take it, for mouldings and windows, and therefore gives us a hint as to the progress made in the outside walls. This is confirmed by the payments for ironwork (*ferramenta*) for windows. In Peter Combe's time we have mention of ten windows; but as there are four years without accounts we may well conclude that most of the windows of the ground floor of the church had been completed by him and that the aisle walls therefore were nearing the triforium level.[2] And if we picture a double row of marble pillars standing between them, we shall see the nave as it stood at the end of Richard II's reign. For this view we have the support of expert opinion. Mr. Micklethwaite (*l. c.*, p. 87) says: 'The carving in the wall arcade . . . is quite "decorated" in character, and I think that the whole of the outer walls were begun and carried to some height in

[1] 1447–8 *shouthire*, 1475–6 *le showtes, showtemen*: in 1474–5 we have *cum ii lighters* (from Rotherhithe).

[2] For details from which experts can draw more accurate inferences see Appendix I, p. 52.

the fourteenth century.' Mr. Lethaby also thinks (*l. c.*, p. 205) that we may look upon Henry Yevele 'as the designer of the nave and of even the lower part of the west front, of which the porch so closely resembles the porches of Westminster Hall and Winchester Cathedral'.

(*Cessation of the Work*)

On May 29, 1399, Richard II crossed over to Ireland, taking Abbot Colchester with him. Two months later Henry of Lancaster was master of England, and Richard abdicated on Michaelmas Day. Henry IV could hardly be expected to look with favour on a monastery which had been so intimately connected with Richard. Even though William Colchester was not the plotting abbot that Shakespeare represents, Bishop Merks, of Carlisle, a stanch partisan of Richard, had been a Westminster monk and kept up a close friendship with Colchester. Consequently we are not surprised that, though he died at Westminster, Henry had chosen to be buried at Canterbury. The *Novum Opus* was soon to feel the change of sovereign. Peter Combe's place, both as warden and sacrist, was taken by Ralph Tonworth. Henry Yevele, who died in 1400, was succeeded by a new master mason, who bore the same name as the abbot, William Colchester. The income from Stoke had reached its natural limit, and Folkestone Priory also ceased to contribute; the manors of Paddington and Hyde were withdrawn from this account; and there were no royal contributions. Consequently the work soon ceased also.[1] In 1403–4 four labourers work for six weeks—that is all. Next year absolutely nothing is done. The building itself bears evidence of this sudden cessation. Mr. Micklethwaite writes, in continuation of the passage already quoted: 'But a good deal of the western part, and the bay with the door on the north side, have the carving left in block, which seems to tell of a cessation of the work when the carving of the part next the cloister was finished, and the rest only in progress.'

[1] After his first year William Colchester receives no fee, but only his furred robe. The sacrist's rolls show how the walls were protected. In 1407–8 Ralph Tonworth answers for *v fothers et iii wayes plumbi supra muros et columpnas ecclesie per estimacionem*: by 1411 the amount has increased by 2 ways. It is tempting to suppose that the south aisle east of the west cloister door must have been temporarily covered in, in order to make that door of service for the Sunday procession, &c., but there is no notice of any roofing or of any *clausura*. In 1394–5, £8 was paid for 200 pieces of *gross' merem'*, but there is no other indication in the account that they were used for this purpose, and this kind of timber is generally used for house-building. Two shops were rebuilt (*de novo edificat'*) in 1398–9; and in 1410–11 two new houses appear in the rental (besides the masons' lodges which had been built).

It is only fair to mention that Ralph Tonworth bought a 'peler' of marble in 1400–1, and another in 1401–2; and that he paid £80 for marble in 1403–4. But this last payment must, I think, have been for marble already delivered and placed in position. For no masons' work is paid for in this or the following years: nor is there any marble in the 'store' which Tonworth hands over to his successor at the expiration of his term of office on Nov. 22, 1411. The name of this successor is not given; he may have been Peter Combe, who at this date returned to the sacrist's office, or Richard Harweden, whom we find in office at Michaelmas 1413. In consequence of Tonworth's inactivity[1] the income of the *Novum Opus* had begun to accumulate; and though the convent found it useful for other purposes, he was able to hand over to his successor £144 9*s.* 10*d.*, together with a considerable amount of Northern stone. By Michaelmas 1413 this surplus had increased to £259 1*s.* 9*d.*; and then the abbot and convent, in view of the change in the state of affairs which is about to be related, appropriated the money to various purposes, and used it for paying off the debts of other offices, until only £3 was left, and this was allowed to the warden as a gift.[2]

(*Henry V*)

Henry IV died on March 20, 1413—by an irony of fate in the abbot of Westminster's house. The new king, we are told, betook himself that night to the anchorite of the abbey. Did he then vow the completion of the nave? In any case, Henry V was shocked to see the nave of the church in which he was crowned in such a ruinous state: to quote his own words, *a diu ruinam passa fuit et adhuc infecta remanet.* He determined to wipe out the disgrace, and himself undertook the work. He assigned to it 1,000 marks a year (500 from the Hanaper, and

[1] It does not follow that Tonworth was personally responsible for this inactivity. He was also sacrist from 1399 to 1411, and seems to have acted with efficiency. He inherited from his predecessor Peter Combe a deficit of £82 13*s.* (besides Peter's deficit in the *Novum Opus* of over £70), and in his accounts caustically alludes to moneys which had not been collected, *quos tamen P. Combe colligere potuisset si debitam diligentiam ad hoc fecisset.* This deficit Tonworth worked off, and in 1411 handed over a balance of £3 15*s.* 6*d.* We also learn from the *Inventory of the Vestry* made by four monks of whom Tonworth was one in 1388, but containing later entries (edited by Dr. Wickham Legg for the Society of Antiquaries, 1890), that he made most liberal gifts to the vestry, which we cannot here enumerate.

[2] £5 was given to the prior *pro novo edificio suo hoc anno de novo constructo.*

500 from the customs of wool), and appointed Richard Whityngton, then Surveyor of the Customs, and Richard Harweden, a monk of Westminster (the *custos novi operis*), his commissioners for the expenditure of the same with full authority, subject only to the supervision of the Duke of York and the Bishop of Winchester (Beaufort). It is interesting to find the great citizen of London so closely associated with the abbey of Westminster; but his name does not come altogether as a surprise, for in the roll for 1401–2 occurs this entry—'*de Ricardo Whityngton ad opus nove ecclesie* £6 13*s.* 4*d.*'

The king's commission[1] is dated Dec. 14, 1413; a previous commission to order the impressment of masons, carpenters, and others is dated Aug. 24 (*Munim.* 6232).[2] But the work actually began on July 7, 1413. There are extant three account rolls of the two Richards, viz. from July 7, 1413 to Christmas 1416, from Christmas 1417 to Christmas 1418, and from Christmas 1420 to Christmas 1421; together with an account of all the moneys received from Henry Cays, the Warden of the Hanaper (*custos hanaperie regis*), from March 21, 1413 to Aug. 31, 1422. These moneys amount to £2,264, which is at least £500 less than the full amount promised, for the payment was a year and a half in arrear when Henry V died. Similarly the 500 marks a year from the customs do not appear to have been regularly paid. Our accountants appear to have received, besides the sums from the Hanaper, only £966 13*s.* 4*d.* for the 5½ years whose accounts remain.[3] If we add £630 6*s.* 8*d.* for the missing 3½ years, the total comes to £1,597; and adding this to the £2,264 from the Hanaper, we get a grand total for Henry's reign of £3,861 (instead of the £6,333 6*s.* 8*d.* promised, i.e. 1000 marks for 9½ years). To this we must add, though it appears nowhere in the commissioners' accounts, an annual sum of from £25 to £35[4] paid over by the warden of the new work, being the balance of his fund after he

[1] Printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, ix, p. 78, and Scott's *Gleanings*, p. 213.

[2] From references kindly given me by Dr. J. H. Wylie, I find that similar orders were issued on Nov. 8, 1413, and March 8, 1414.

[3] The details are—

1413. £66 13*s.* 4*d.* from the customs.
1414. £233 16*s.* 8*d.* from the customs.
[? 1415.] £200 through the Bishop of Norwich (R. Courtenay).
1416. £133 6*s.* 8*d.* from the king.
1418. nil.
1421. £333 6*s.* 8*d.* from the king.

[4] The total amount paid 1413–22 was £279 15*s.* 6*d.*, which will bring the total expenditure on the fabric up to about £4,140.

had paid various incidental expenses, which were calculated upon a liberal scale. We ought in fairness to add that he supplied the annual 'robes' for the masons, over twenty in number: and in the first and last year (1413–14 and 1421–2) he paid also for their *noneschynchys* (*nonsshense*) or luncheons (£4, £8). In the intervening years this expense was borne by the treasurer or the sacrist of the convent.

The account rolls are for the most part merely summaries of materials purchased and payments made; but the quantities show with what vigour the work was pressed on. Thus in the first roll (from July 1413 to Christmas 1416) we find the names of twenty-six merchants from whom stone was bought, and the amount is this:

1,178 cartloads of Reigate stone.
477 *doliat'* (cartloads) of stone 'de Stapulton' (in Yorkshire).
359 *doliat'* (cartloads) of stone 'de Bere' (in Devon).
399 *doliat'* (=17 boat loads) of Kentish Ragg.

In all 2,413 loads.[1] Twenty masons were employed all the time, with six casual masons for seventy weeks. For their needs a new masons' lodge was constructed within the church, where indeed there appear to have been two lodges—one roofed with tiles, and one thatched. The fee of the master mason, William Colchester, was increased to £10.

Although the rolls are of this character, they contain enough evidence to indicate the progress made. Thus 'in the third year' (March 21, 1415 to March 21, 1416) '12 bases, 24 pilers, and 24 chapitrells' of marble were bought of John Russe and Richard Knapp for £16, including the *frettag'* and *factur' in grosso*. The numbers of these bases, shafts, and capitals agree exactly with the numbers now existing on one side, i. e. six bays, of the triforium. And that it was the south side which was built is proved by the important fact that the south aisle was roofed this same year (as will appear later on). Four men had been employed at Hendon in cutting down wood *pro tecto coster' navicule mon'*, and as a result ninety-two carts of timber were taken thence to the abbey *pro tecto coster' et gistes navis*. One carpenter was employed the whole three years (160 weeks) in working *circa factur' scaffold' et factur' de novo tectur' unius coste navicule monasterii*, and for seventy-seven days he had the help of four other carpenters. Lastly, nineteen carrats of lead were bought of Robert Thorley 'in the third year' *pro una costa navis* (£88 13*s.* 4*d.*).

[1] 'Came' stone appears in 1417–18 (41 *dol.*) and 1420–1 (181 *dol.*).

'In the fourth year' (March 21 to Dec. 25, 1416) the same amount of marble was purchased, viz. 12 bases, 24 pilers, 24 chapitrells, obviously for the triforium on the north side. But the work was not sufficiently advanced, for at Christmas they remain in the unused 'store'. They are still in the store at Christmas 1417; but by the end of next year, Christmas 1418, they have been used, all that is except 'ten great stones of marble called chapitrells'. Now in this same year we find from the account that the north aisle was roofed. One carpenter was employed for twenty-eight weeks: four others for forty-five days in cutting down timber at Hendon *pro coopertura coste ecclesie ac factura et levac' eiusdem in ecclesia.* Two sawyers were also occupied in sawing 4,100 feet of 'bords' and other work *circa cooperturam coste predicte.* Two masons were engaged in taskwork *circa operac' voc' Lentayll* [=*le entaille*] *de diversis corbell'* (37*s.* 8*d.*), i. e. the carving of corbel stones. And 5½ carrats of lead were bought *pro coopertura coste borialis ecclesie.*

The ironwork, viz. for *longis staybarrys, circul', crochettes,* &c., in the first three years, weighing 1,648 lb., 575 lb., 416 lb., and also 732 lb. in 1417–8, may have been for finishing off the windows in the north aisle, or for the windows in the ground floor under the towers, with perhaps the round windows in the triforium (cf. *circul'*).[1]

At the time which we have reached, Christmas 1418, changes are at hand. Abbot Colchester died in October 1420, and Richard Harweden was appointed his successor by a papal provision. This was no doubt obtained by Henry V as a reward for Harweden's diligent supervision of the work. Harweden consequently vacated the convent office of warden of the new work, which was given to Walter Coggeshall, but he continued to act as the king's *supervisor.* In the roll for 1420–1 we find that William of Colchester, the mason, has also departed, and his place is taken by John Thirsk.[2] These

[1] It may be useful to collect some notices of the implements required. 'Boards called *regold, waynyschoote et estrychboorde*' are bought for the masons' 'moulds', or, as they are now called, templates. Two long poles of fir were used *pro le trasour*: in 1460–1 we come across *le tracynghous.* A wheel was bought from Master Nicholas Walton for raising up stones, &c. (53*s.* 6*d.*): this must be the 'great wheel', which fills an important part in the accounts, and of which we have a picture in Islip's obituary roll (see p. 49). There was a great rope *voc' haunser*: and a stone for sharpening the tools, *voc' gress'.* From Robert Couper were also bought a great balance, *statera,* for weighing the stone (26*s.* 8*d.*), and a *nov' ffern'* (14*s.* 8*d.*). The latter perhaps is *le verne,* which was mended in 1423–4 (for 2*s.*), and which seems to have been a windlass; cp. 1447–8, *pro emendac' le verne super ecclesiam, pro emendacione le vernehede.*

[2] Sometimes *Thresk* or *Thrusk.* He is John of Thirsk, and his real name seems to have been Crowche: see rolls 1433–4 foll. William Colchester went

changes were precursors of yet another change which was to have a far more serious effect upon the new work. For Henry himself died on August 31, 1422. At his death we may picture the nave thus. The second—the triforium—story is finished, that is to say, the walls and the roofing of the aisles of the building are complete up to the clerestory level; and above this great progress has been made with the walls of the clerestory, but how far they had been raised we cannot say—perhaps they have almost reached the roof level.[1] In 1908, there having been occasion for the erection of a staging in the nave so as to project from the triforium level on the north side, a scaffold was raised upon this to enable the workmen to repair one of the clerestory windows, and they found that the stone-work at the base of the window was considerably weathered. This is evidence that at least the lower part of the clerestory had been exposed to the weather for a long time before the roof was put on. With regard to the west end we have no definite information. We have no ground for assuming that it had been neglected, but it seems probable that the work there was carried on at a much lower level. We shall come across some indications of this in the next reign (see p. 23).

(*From 1422 to 1467*)

The death of Henry V, although not so disastrous to the New Work as the deposition of Richard II had been, nevertheless entailed serious consequences. The grant of 1000 marks a year at once came to an end; the direction of the work returned into the hands of the warden of the *Novum Opus*, who could only continue operations on a very much smaller scale; and after a few years, owing to various circumstances presently to be noticed, the work sank to a very low ebb indeed. To sum up, although it never actually ceased, upon the death of Henry V it entered upon a period of decline, which lasted for forty-six years, until the year 1468, when a revival came, and an impetus was given which carried it to its conclusion. It might be thought that this decline was due to the spirit of the age and the political unrest which culminated in the Wars of the Roses. It did indeed reflect the spirit of the age; but it is surprising how little the internal life of the abbey was affected by outside events.

to York in 1416 (Lethaby, p. 206): in 1420 he is succeeded by a John from Yorkshire.

[1] The walls must have been ready for the roofing—one bay in 1469, three bays in 1474, and the rest in 1478; see below.

It may be as well to collect here all the references in these rolls to the external history of the time, beyond the frequent recurrence of tenths and subsidies. In 1425–6 £2 is contributed towards 'a certain gift given to the Duchess of Bedford when coming from the parts of France'. In 1426–7 stone bought at 'Seyntkateryne's' has to be carted to Westminster *causa factur' et emend' pontis London'*. In 1449–50 6*s.* 8*d.* is paid to the king *pro vill' de Calys*. In 1457 the master mason had to ride to the Lord Chancellor *pro i saufcondite ad providend' pro lapidibus a partibus transmarinis*, i. e. for the Caen stone.[1] In 1459–60 4*s.* 4*d.* was paid (or contributed) *pro i equo empt' pro ducissa Ebor'*. Next year we have an important item which must refer to Edward IV's entry into London: 10*s.* was paid *fratri Thome Cornewell* (the sacrist) *pro conductione hominum ad vigiland' et salvo custodiend' ecclesiam tempore turbido*. A similar entry occurs in 1470–1, which likewise must refer to Edward's return from abroad and re-establishment on the throne: *et sol' pro tuicione sanctuarii tempore adventus soldariorum* 13*s.* 4*d.*

It was not then the political unrest which hindered the progress of the nave. It was for one thing the loss of royal help: for when Henry VI came of age, his piety and devotion spent themselves upon his new foundations of Eton and King's College: and he did nothing for Westminster, although he had chosen it for his place of burial. We cannot, however, altogether exonerate the abbots and the convent in this matter. It is evident that they made no special effort to raise money either from outside or from within, out of the resources of the abbot or of the convent. Richard Harweden having won for himself the abbacy was apparently content to 'go slow'. His successor, Edmund Kyrton (1440–62), who had been head of Gloucester Hall at Oxford, was a scholar and a theologian rather than a practical administrator. George Norwych, who came next (1462–9), involved the abbey in debt. Nor were the wardens of the new work men of character, if we except the first two—Nicholas Ashby (1423–33), who became prior in 1435 and bishop of Llandaff in 1440, and Edmund Kyrton (1433–7). After these two comes a rapid succession of names which seems to hint at a somewhat unsettled régime and the want of a strong guiding hand—John Frank, John Flete[2] for a year, Thomas Pomeroy, Edmund Down, John Flete

[1] A *salvus conductus pro le Canestone* was also required in 1472–3, and was then only obtained *cum magna difficultate*. To obtain it cost the warden over 30*s.*

[2] John Flete is the medieval historian of the Abbey. He became prior (1456–65), as did Thomas Arundell (1474–82). There are some gaps in the

again for half a year (1456–7), Thomas Arundell, William Barnell, and Thomas Ruston (1462–7).

(Manorial obligations of the Novum Opus)

Further, the *Novum Opus* had now become, in view of its income as well as of its responsibilities, one of the more important 'offices' of the convent, and it was thought right that it should bear its share of the public burdens. Accordingly during this period we find increasing calls made upon it. Thus we find it paying pensions to aged monks, to the succentor (3*s.* 4*d.* a year), and to others; and giving presents (*xennia*) to monks when they first celebrate mass or preside in the refectory, to the prior (3*s.* 4*d.* a year from 1461–2 onwards), and sometimes to the abbot, as e.g. in 1452–3—paid for *ii grene trees dat' dño abbati* 2*s.* 8*d.*, also *ii dossein sokers* 1*s.*, and *iii wodecokkes* 1*s.* If there was a balance in hand at the annual audit, grants were made in relief of other offices, as e.g. for the salaries of the paid singers (*pro cantat' secular'*), or to pay the debts of past officers. In 1423–4 the auditors allowed 36*s.* 5*d.* to the warden 'for his labour', and this became an annual allowance, which, after some variation, was fixed at £2, *pro suo bono et assiduo labore.* After 1457 there was also a regular allowance, generally 8s. 4*d.*, 'for a recreation for the abbot (or prior) and auditors at the time of the audit.'

The external expenses of the 'office' were also on the increase. The *custus domorum*, which included not only the repairs but also the improvement of the property,[1] had already become a serious item; and now it was decided that for the future the *Novum Opus*, which had hitherto received the rents of Paddington and Hyde, should bear the responsibilities and the expenses of the lordship of those manors. It is right to add that, in compensation for these new charges, the convent assigned to the *N. O.* certain rents, amounting to £11–13 a year, which appear in the rolls for the first time in 1455–6[2] as *Redditus extra villam Westm'*. They came from various lands and tenements situated in Westbourne, Paddington, Kensington,

rolls, chiefly from 1437 to 1442, and from 1451 to 1455. The latter gap is partly made up for by some accounts of William Thornewerk, collector of the rents. From these we gather that he made the payments and acted generally as agent for the warden.

[1] In 1486–7 Esteney rebuilt *le Sarsonhede* and adjacent tenement, and built three new tenements *iuxta portam borialem sanctuarii.* The expense was £230, but a legacy of £69 had been left to the *N. O.*, and it was allotted to this purpose.

[2] The year in which the lawsuit with the vicar of Longdon began.

'Knyghtbrigge,' and 'Eyfeld'. To these were added in 1461–2 some further lands in Westbourne and Durbarfeld (13*s.* 4*d.*); and with these properties went the possession of the wood of Estgrove.[1]

The manorial obligations incurred by the *Novum Opus* may be summed up under these heads: (1) The manor of Hyde had been much improved by Nicholas Litlyngton when prior (1350–62), and consequently the convent agreed to keep an anniversary for him on St. Nicholas' Day (Dec. 6) out of its revenues. The *Novum Opus* began to pay for this anniversary in 1445–6, the expense being 4*s.* to 5*s.* for forty tapers to burn in St. Nicholas' Chapel, 3*s.* 4*d.* for the 'bishop of St. Nicholas', that is the boy-bishop, and 20*s.* to 30*s.* for a pittance, that is an extra dish at the convent's dinner.[2]

(2) In 1442–3 this entry occurs: *Solut' in marescalcia dñi regis pro diversis amerciamentis pro manerio de Hyde*, 26*s.* 8*d.* These amercements in the king's marshalsea become almost an annual charge of about £2 on the manor of Hyde. Paddington was also liable to the same. An explanation of the charge is probably to be found in these entries in 1483–4: *In regard' dat' servient' dñi regis in officio stabuli sui pro favore habend' in capiend' aven' infra dictum manerium* (Hyde and Knightsbridge) 7*s.*, *et in regard' dat' Willmo Gerard pro suo assiduo labore fact' dicto servient' etc.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

(3) The scouring of ditches was a constant expense. There were ditches running from Eyhill to Paddington, between Knightsbridge and Kensington ('Hyde ditch,' 1461–2), Hyde and Paddington, Paddington and Kilburn (1455–6), Tyburn and 'Bayardyswaterynge' (1461–2), round Westbourne wood, and at Estgrove—all these had to be periodically cleaned.[3] This carried with it the upkeep of bridges, and we find them at Paddington, at Westbourne (*Westborne brigge*, 1459–60), at Bayardswatering (1508–9), and between Knightsbridge and Hyde, i.e. the Knight's Bridge.[4] Failure to fulfil his

[1] Payments are made to John Wilkins and others (5*s.* in 1455–6, 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1459–60) for a *venella* or lane *apud Tyburn*, for which the *N. O.* seems to have been responsible. John Wilkins elsewhere appears as leader of the jurors of Middlesex.

[2] In 1450–1 the details are thus given:—

'First for roget grete gurnard cunger & a chyne of fressh sammon 16/6
Item for herbes for sauce and brede and vynegre 4^{d}
,, payed to the cook for his labour 4^{d}
,, yeven unto the Bisshop of Seint Nicholas 3/4
,, payed for the lyghte of Seint Nicholas 5/'.

[3] An annual stipend of 30*s.* was paid to Richard Roberts for hedging and ditching at Westbourne and Estgrove: after 1460 in his place we find a *custos bosci de Estgrove*.

[4] Adjoining this bridge was a tenement called Lazarcotes—the name first appears in 1463–4—which paid a rent of 2*s.* a year.

duty involved the warden in such expenses as these: *dat' jurat' Midd' pro una fovea non escurat' apud Padyngton*, 6*s.* 8*d.* (1456–7); paid to the same *pro favore habend' pro fossat' de Hyde viz. inter Kensyngton et Knyghtbrigge* 2*s.* (1461–2). In 1464–5, 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid to the sheriff of Middlesex *pro suo favore habend' pro diversis amerciamentis apud Hodilstenpittes;* and this, like so many others, became an annual payment.

(4) The next item is that of 'recreations', or hospitality given to important visitors, and also to the prior and the abbot. The recreations to the latter were probably on the occasion of the holding of some court or other manorial function. For an illustration let us take William Thornewerk's detailed account for 1450–1 (see p. 19 n.). In the Easter quarter two geese were bought *pro prand' tent' apud Levermore* (1*s.* 4*d.*); another 'recreation' was given at the same place to Master Thomas Manning, clerk, and others of the king's household (4*s.* 4*d.*). The same quarter 6*s.* 7*d.* was spent *apud Hyde cum domino priore et senesc' tent' vis' franc' pleg' cum curia die martis in sept' pent' apud knyghtbrigge*, that is for Hock day's court and view of frankpledge.[1] Lastly, on the Thursday after St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21) a recreation was made for the lord abbot which cost 20*s.* 2*d.* The total cost of the hospitality was 32*s.* 5*d.*, a heavy charge on a manor which only paid a rent of £13 6*s.* 8*d.*: but this year is exceptional.

(5) Lastly, we have the *custus domorum*, a heading which affords us some glimpses of the manor houses of Hyde and Paddington. At Hyde there was a moat—*pro escuracione le mote* (1450–1; cf. 1472–3); a great barn (1455–6); *le shepcote et le cowhous* (1457–8); various stables, *le millehous*, and *camerae* (1459–60). In 1463–4 three chambers are made, viz. *in aut'* [? *aula*], *locutor' et camera*, for which 10,000 *breek* was required. To continue the story, it is interesting to learn that the manor was let to 'Master John Morton, clerk' (Master of the Rolls, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), on a twenty years' lease for £14 a year in 1476–7.[2] This lease to

[1] The details are—*in pan' et cervis'* 2/4; *in expens' in coquina ibidem, viz. in carn' bovium ovium et maribones et carn' vitul'* 1/10; *in iii pull'* 6^{d}; *in iii renners* 8^{d}; *in i porcell'* 7^{d}; *in speciebus ad idem empt'* 4^{d} = 3/11; *item dat' coco pro labore* 4^{d}; *item in beryes empt' pro le bakemet'* 1^{d}.

[2] John Morton became bishop of Ely in 1479, and archbishop in 1486. He seems to have given up the lease in 1483–4, when the manor was let to the Bishop of St. Davids on a lease of thirteen years. But in 1486–7 the name of John *nuper episcopo Eliensi* reappears. In 1488–9 the manor was again let to William Waller for thirty years, in whose hands it remained till the term of his lease.

Morton probably accounts for the large sum spent on Hyde and Paddington in 1478–9, viz. over £70, when we hear in particular of *le shepon horreum stabulum et domos infra le mote* at Hyde, and also of *factur' de le pound apud Knyghtbrugge*.[1] The last entry to quote concerning Hyde is the expenditure of £21 6*s*. 1*d*. *in nov' edific' apud Hyde* in 1527–8.

To turn to Paddington, it is in connexion with the building of a great barn there that we come across the first mention of bricks in these rolls, viz. in 1455–6, *in* 3,000 *breke cum cariag' pro le pynnyng orrei*. Next year 2,000 *de breek* was used *pro le underpynnyng* of *le cowhous*. In 1477–8 the *cimiterium de Padyngton* is mentioned. Paddington's share of the great outlay of 1478–9 was spent upon the *domum mansionis*, the *horreum*, and *le shepon*; and a dauber was also at work on a *domum super le grene*.

This is rather a long digression from the building of the nave; but it seemed well worth while to give some idea of the position held and the responsibilities incurred by the abbey of Westminster, and by the office of the *Novum Opus* in particular, as landowner of the most important parts of what is now west and south-west London.

(*Harweden and Kyrton*)

To return then to our history, we may divide the years from 1422 to 1467 into three periods:

First, as long as Abbot Harweden was alive, 1422–1440, the wardens Ashby and Kyrton kept the work at a steady level, always being careful that there should be a balance on the right side. The twelve years for which we have accounts give this annual average—sixty-five cartloads of stone bought, three masons at work with occasional help, and an expenditure of £58 4*s*. 8*d*. John Thirsk has lost the £10 fee which he had received under Henry V, and works at the same rate of wages as his fellow masons, with a little more for his robe and recreation. But in 1430–1 he ceases to earn wages as a working mason, and receives a fee of £5 with 13*s*. 4*d*. for his robe; later, in 1445–6, £2 is paid to the sacrist for his house rent. We hear of Thirsk for the last time in the summer of 1451; at Christmas 1452 John Smith becomes master mason; and he in turn is followed by John Redyng in 1460–1, though I strongly suspect that the two latter are one person, viz. John Smith of

[1] Cp. *le pynfold ibidem* i. e. *at Knyghtbrigge* (1500–1). A pair of 'stokkes' was also set up there in 1494–5.

Reading. Whether they be one or two persons, these Johns were working masons and received £8 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for their wages as such, £5 for their fee, 13*s.* 4*d.* for their robes, and £2 for house rent—in all £16 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

The first work mentioned in 1423–4 is building a new wall between the church and *le logge*[1]. This confirms what has already been said about the position of the masons' lodge (p. 10). In the next account 8*d.* is paid *pro factura le logge pro le tenysplayers.* What connexion can this somewhat inexpensive lodge have with the *Novum Opus*? Did the warden and his companions (*socii*) play tennis? If not, who did?

In 1433–4 four labourers were hired for ten days to 'replace within the enclosure of the lodge the worked stones which had previously lain before the west door'. This proves that the west door was already built. Indeed, the walls must have been at some height. The slight evidence collected below[2] shows that the stones had to be raised, and yet it would seem not to such a great height as the clerestory. Mention is made more than once of the chamber above the west door, which must have been built before 1442. Indeed it is possible that Millyng, on taking up the work in 1468, had 'the great (west) window cleaned'; but the reference, given below on p. 30, is more probably to the aisle or clerestory windows. These points incline me to believe that the chief work of the whole period was the raising of the west end and bases of the towers to a level nearer to that attained in the nave proper. It is evident from the building itself that the tower bay is later than the rest: there is a difference in the shafts of the triforium and in the tracery of the clerestory windows; and I doubt whether the stringcourses are quite level with those of the nave proper. In

[1] In 1447 a wall was built *apud le logge iuxta le monkyncherchhawe* (i. e. next the monks' churchyard or burying place): but it occurs under *Custus domorum,* it does not specify the *masons'* lodge, and we know that the monks' churchyard was by the Infirmary, for in 1377–8 John Mordon, the infirmarer, built a wall *inter cameram subprioris et cimiterium vocat' le monkenchichaw.*

[2] In 1423–4, *i corda de canabo ad trahend' petr' et slynges inde faciend'* 2*s.* 6*d.*; 1424–5, five loads of scaffold timber; 1429–30, 1 new cord *vocat' le gabel rope* [cable] 20*s.*; in 1434–5 and after, labourers are hired to carry the worked stones *a le logge usque in fabricam novi operis* or *usque in ecclesiam*; 1447–8, paid to John Trounsham *pro hevyng de tymbre pro le scaffold fiend' cum uno homine* 16*d.*; *diversis hominibus trahentibus petras super ecclesiam* 6*s.* 8*d.*; *pro wyndyng petr' super ecclesiam* 3*s.* This is all. Negatively, there is no mention of the great wheel. In 1434–5 and a few years after, among the stones bought are specified *asschlers,* and also Reigate stones *maioris* and *minoris forme.*

1435–6 the Lord Cardinal (Beaufort) and the king's executors at divers times visited the church *pro fabrica novi operis*. The warden had to contribute 40*s*. towards the expense of their entertainment, and I cannot detect any other result of their inspection, except that at the end of the year there is for the first time a deficit in the account.

The first ten years of Abbot Kyrton form the second period, 1440–50. The work then fell to a very low ebb. The average expenditure[1] is just under £34, the purchase of stone is forty loads, and only two masons are employed. The only matter to note in these years is the *camera* over the west door. This, as has been remarked, was already built by 1442; for in the account for 1442–3 we read *In plumbo empt' pro camera in novo opere hoc anno furato* 10*s*.; and in 1445–6 it underwent a restoration.[2] The slackness of work at this time, together with the frequent change of wardens, is, as has been hinted, a reflection upon the administrative capacities of Abbot Kyrton.

I have marked off the remaining years, 1450–68, as a third period, because in these years the prosecution of the New Work was greatly hindered by certain misfortunes which fell upon the abbey one after another.

(*The burning of the dormitory*)

1. On the 25th of October, 1447, 'on the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, about nine o'clock at night, the dormitory was set on fire by George Norwych (*factum est incendium dormitorii per G. N.*)'—so runs a laconic memorandum in an account-book of the priors. It was less than 150 years since the previous destruction of the dormitory by fire (p. 4). The rebuilding was now put into the hands of John Flete, the treasurer. He first raised a sum of money—£158 10*s*., and then carried out the work in the year 1449–50, the total expense being £184 19*s*. 8*d*. His interesting account roll is

[1] To judge from a few rolls. There is a gap from Mich. 1437 to Mich. 1442.

[2] *In emendacione unius camerae super hostium occidentale novi operis ecclesie solut' J. Pache cooopent'* [? *carpent'* or *cooperient'*] for seven days, 4*s*.; *et pro ii bemes et tabulis quercinis ad idem empt'*, 5*s*. 4*d*.; *et plumbario cum suo serviente*, for eight days, 8*s*. 8*d*.; *et pro clav' ad idem*, 6*d*.; and *xiii lb. sowder*, 4*s*. 4*d*.—in all £1 2*s*. 10*d*. John Pache was succeeded by Richard Pache as abbey carpenter. They must have made their mark, for at the dissolution of the monastery a house in Little Dean's Yard, near the dormitory, was still called *Pache's house*.

extant, but to go into details[1] would carry us too far from our subject, except for one point, which affords a striking illustration of the system of 'regards' and 'recreations' which prevailed throughout the middle ages. A document is exhibited in the chapter-house of Westminster, in which Henry VI states that in view of this calamity he remits to the convent half a tenth which had been voted by convocation and was due to him on June 24, 1448. The half-tenth came to £69, which is accordingly entered by Flete among his receipts. But among the payments is a paragraph headed *In expens' fact' circa adquisitionem dimidie decime supradict'*, and a number of items follow from which I will only quote two or three: *imprimis dat' Johanni Say armigero* £6 13*s.* 4*d.* . . . *in ii signis* [*cygnis*] *miss' domino cancellario apud Lambythe* 8*s.* . . . *dat' Johĩ Rous pro suo labore erga dominum cancellarium* 13*s.* 4*d.*, *et dat' domino Thes' ad concordand' cum ipso in pretio unius dolei vini* £6, *dat' W. Dyke armigero pro suo labore erga dominum Thes'* 20*s.* and so forth. The total, including travelling expenses to Windsor and Canterbury, comes to £21 5*s.* 8*d.*; so to obtain a remission of £69 cost the abbey £21. This is the highwater mark of commissions,—whether licit or illicit is not for us to judge. And I must add that, although the gifts of kings and other great persons generally suffer a discount by way of 'regard' or 'recreation' to their treasurers and servants, I have not come across another instance on a scale equal to this.

(*The vicars of Longdon*)

2. For 120 years the *Novum Opus* of Westminster had received £26 13*s.* 4*d.* a year from the rectorial tithes of Longdon (p. 4), from which had been deducted only the payment of tenths, 10*s.* for a robe for the vicar, and occasionally a robe for the farmer of the tithe. But in the fourteenth century the cost of living had probably increased; at any rate the vicars of Longdon began to find that their share of the church's tithes was too small. The convent refusing to increase their stipend, an action against it was instituted in 1455–6 by the then vicar of Longdon in the court of the bishop of Worcester.[2] Full details of the expenses incurred are entered in the *N. O.* rolls, together with the names of the advocates, proctors, and others concerned. There is not

[1] The account mentions *le parclos super gradus dormitorii* and the *gabelwyndowe in fine dormitorii.*

[2] *In consistorio Wygorn', in curia Christianitatis in ecclesia cathedr' Wigorn'.*

room to reproduce them here. Suffice it to say that in the two years 1455–7 the convent spent £13 16*s.* 4*d.* in expenses in the consistory court of Worcester, and, having received an adverse verdict there, carried the case in 1458 to the provincial or archbishop's court, the Court of Arches (*curia de arcubus*), where the chief advocate of the convent was Master Thomas Wynterbourn, afterwards dean of St. Paul's (1471–8). That year the expenses came to £14 10*s.* 2*d.*; and having again failed, the convent appealed to Rome, for at the end appears this item, *solut' pro i procuracione usque curiam Romanam* 48*s.* 4*d.*; and among 'foreign payments' we read *solut' ii fratribus predicatorum venient' a curia Romana et portant' cum eis unam inhibicionem et unam citacionem pro materia de Longedon* 3*s.* 4*d.* Unfortunately, the account for the following year is lost. But the expenses in the papal court could hardly have been less than those in the Court of Arches, and the convent failed to win its appeal. For next year the warden pays the vicar a pension of 53*s.* 4*d.* (i. e. 4 marks, a tenth of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* = 40 marks), which is continued annually until 1487–8, when for some reason unknown to us it was reduced to 13*s.* 4*d.* But there was more than this; the convent was henceforth compelled by the authorities at Worcester to fulfil its responsibilities as rector for the church buildings in the parish of Longdon, which it had hitherto entirely neglected. Thus in 1459–60 the warden had to spend £4 1*s.* 6*d.* on the chancels of Longdon church and the chapel of Chaddesley; and in 1461–2 £11 0*s.* 10*d.* (plus £2 17*s.* 5½*d.* in expenses) on the same with the 'presbyter's house' at Chaddesley. Attached to the roll for 1466–7 is the *Parcelle* of the repair of the chancel of Morton Castell, £23 7*s.*, and its windows were glazed in 1467 at a cost of £2 13*s.* 4*d.* Next year the bishop's court at Worcester fined the convent £1 for defects in the repairs. Yet again, in 1467–9 the chancel of Longdon cost another £7 6*s.* 10*d.* Thus, after spending £28 10*s.* in resisting the claim of the vicar of Longdon—not to speak of expenses at Rome—the *Novum Opus* had to spend in the next ten years (1459–69) £52 7*s.* on repairs of the fabrics,[1] besides paying every year a pension of 53*s.* 4*d.* to the vicar, and a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* to a proctor in the consistory court of Worcester, which fee became a permanent charge like the pension.

Before leaving Longdon there is another unhappy circumstance to mention. In the second year of Edward IV Convocation granted him a fourth of a tenth. For Longdon this came to 14*s.* 6*d.*, which is duly entered among the payments of 1461–2. But there had been

[1] Later, in 1477–8, £22 10*s.* 3*d.* was spent on the chancel of Longdon.

some difficulty or delay in the matter: and the new government was rigorous upon defaulters—perhaps it was anxious to make the convent of Westminster feel its strong hand. However that may be, the warden incurred a bill of £7 3s. *circa excusationem collectionis decime predict'*, with further costs of £2 19*s.* 2*d.* *in scaccario dñi Regis.* The expenses of William Yonge and Edward Breknok in collecting the tenth came to £10 6*s.* 0½*d.* with rewards of £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, and two recreations had to be given to the *capital' baron' de scaccario dñi Regis* (£1 10*s.* 6½*d.*). In all, the default about this 14*s.* 6*d.* cost the *Novum Opus* £25 5*s.* 5*d.*[1]

(*The restoration of the south transept*)

3. The third piece of adverse fortune with which the *Novum Opus* had to contend was the dilapidation of the south transept, for the repair of which it was laid under contribution, the warden at the time being also sacrist. The first hint of this occurs in William Thornewerk's account for 1451: *solut' Johanni Hardy in festo assumptionis beate Marie pro Northirnstone pro le Rose in australi parte ecclesie in partem solutionis* £5. £5 was also paid *citra* (? *circa*) *festum sancti Petri ad vincula* (Aug. 1); and possibly we may connect with this the purchase of 88 *tonnetight de Canestone* (£36 13*s.* 4*d.*) in 1455–6. The next mention of the Rose is in 1457, when between March and September four carpenters are working *super le scaffold' pro rosa ad finem australem ecclesie.* In 1460–1 five carpenters are engaged in raising the great scaffold (*erigent' magnum scaffold'*), for which the timber had been cut down at Knightsbridge. In particular three carpenters were at work cutting down and framing (*framant'*) timber *pro ancora rose in ecclesia et pro le nailing tabul' magni scaffold'*, and six labourers raised the timber *de le anker.* In all, the scaffold cost £11 5*s.* 8*d.* The restoration of the window was completed next year (1461–2). A carpenter spent 160 days in 'setting up five scaffolds within and without the church about the rose and in taking down the same',[2] and also making a 'great wheel'

[1] In 1479–80 John Yong received £4 13*s.* 4*d.* for collecting half a tenth in the archdeaconry of Worcester, and £2 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid *in expens' fact' in scaccario dñi regis circa exonerationem dicti collectoris.* Next year the same items (£5 and £2 3*s.* 4*d.* respectively) recur over the remaining half of the tenth. The first of the chief barons of the Exchequer in 1461–2 is William Essex. In 1451–2 Robert Essex, of whom more hereafter, became a monk here.

[2] *pro le scaplyng predict' lod' ulmin' et framyng de 5 scaffoldes infra ecclesiam et extra circa le rose cum depositione eorundem cum factur' unius magn' rote super le scaffold'.* The first mention of ginnies (*chynnys*) occurs this year.

for which a rope (*cabull*) was bought from John Boleyn for 34*s.* 9*d.* Eighty ells of canvas were needed to protect the church from 'wind, rain, and other misfortune'. Labourers carried away the old rose,[1] and the labour bill was heavy, £11 15*s.* 8*d.* Seven extra masons were employed for several weeks. The new rose in its place, the iron-work could be fixed. 1,240 lb. of new iron and 1,027 lb. of old were used, together with 8 lb. *de canill' ferr'*. The iron-work cost £19 15*s.* 4*d.* Last came the glazing, which required 1,800 lb. of lead (72*s.*), 36 lb. of solder (12*s.*), and 2 *lod' vitrii pro nova rosa* (£2 10*s.*). Then follows this important entry: 'Paid to Thomas Pedeler, glasyer, for the glazing of the said rose, viz. for 465 feet at 1½*d.* a foot—£2 18*s.* 1½*d.*, and to the same for making of the arms of England, with colours for the same in the centre of the rose, 4*s.*'[2] This would lead us to infer that only the middle of the rose was coloured.

It is interesting thus to be able to add another chapter to the history of the great Rose. Built about 1260, its glass was blown out by the great wind of 1362, and renewed by John Payable. A hundred years later the window was rebuilt, and glazed by Thomas Pedeler. Wren tells us in his report to Atterbury in 1713 (Widmore, p. 55) that the south rose window 'was well rebuilt forty years since'. It underwent the same process at the hands of Wyatt in 1814. In 1842–5 Messrs. Ward and Nixon filled it with stained glass, which was a striking achievement for the time. Lastly, at the beginning of the twentieth century, 1901–2, both stone and glass were once more renewed at a cost of £2,125 for the stone-work and £1,960 for the glass (including the lancets below). The total cost of the restoration in 1461–2 was about £126; £181 13*s.* was altogether spent by the *Novum Opus* that year, and the warden was left with a deficit of £84 5*s.* 6½*d.*

In the following years occur some notices of work on the south end[3]; and it appears that the sacrist had also been obliged to re-lead the roof of the transept.[4] In doing this John Amondesham[5]

[1] *in diversis laborar' conduct' ad subtrahend' vet' rosam et ad cariand' petr' ab ecclesia usque ad corpus eiusdem ecclesie ac eciam operant' ibidem toto tempore factur' nove rose.*

[2] *solut' Thom' Pedeler glasyer pro vitriacione dict' rose viz. pro 465 ped' . . . et pro factur' armarum* [sic] *Angl' cum coloribus ad idem in medio rose.*

[3] In 1463–4, 6 cwt. *calc' adust' pro turr' super australem partem ecclesie* and for other places; 1464–5, 5 cwt. of do. for the same; 1466–7, 4 cwt. *calc' adust' pro turr' super australem partem ecclesie finiend' ex parte orientali et pro le gable end.*

[4] *pro tectura australis partis ecclesie et super latus ibidem usque partem occidentalem posit'*, i. e. its west aisle (1464–5).

[5] Or Ametsham, sacrist from 1450 to 1460 or 1462.

had incurred a debt of £57 13*s.* 4*d.* to the plumber, John Rogerson of London; and his successor, Thomas Ruston, increased the debt to £89 10*s.* 1½*d.* To assist in liquidating this, for four years (1463–7) the *Novum Opus* paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.

(*Norwych and Ruston*)

The restoration of the south transept fell under the wardenship of Thomas Ruston, who had entered upon the office at Michaelmas 1461, and under the abbacy of George Norwych, who had succeeded Kyrton on his resignation in October 1462. The rule, perhaps the combined rule, of these two was suddenly brought to a close. On Nov. 24, 1467, 'in a low parlour on the south side of the Infirmary,'[1] in the presence of a public notary and two witnesses, and also of the prior (Dr. Thomas Millyng) and eleven of the senior monks, George Norwych signed a document which committed the government of the monastery to a commission of three, Millyng the prior, William Chertsey, and John Esteney. He also agreed that Dompnus Thomas Ruston should be deposed from all his offices, viz. those of cellarer, sacrist, and warden of the new work. The ground alleged for this sudden change was that the abbot had by his mismanagement burdened the convent with debt, and that this again was largely due to the influence of Ruston. With regard to these charges we must observe that the convent had suffered from debt for many years before Norwych became abbot: and that although Thomas Ruston, as far as we can judge from the rolls, was a bad manager—'regards' and such like payments tended to increase, and he had previously got into debt when chamberlain[2]; yet very heavy and exceptional expenses fell upon him—the restoration of the south transept, the repairs of the churches at Longdon, and the unfortunate incident about the tithe of Longdon. We might therefore say that it was his misfortune rather than his fault. It is probable that more underlay the *coup d'état*, if such we may call it, than appears on the surface. Perhaps the change represented a political victory: Norwych and Ruston may have stood for the Lancastrian interest, as Millyng afterwards proved to be a staunch Yorkist.[3]

[1] *in quadam bassa parlura ex parte australi infirmariae.* Widmore prints the original notarial document (p. 191).

[2] In 1464–5 the *N. O.* contributes £5 9*s.* towards liquidating a debt of Ruston's of £18 6*s.* 3¾*d.* due to John Routh, 'haberdassher' of London.

[3] We noted the severity of the government in the matter of the Longdon tithe, 1461–2. On the other hand Norwych only became abbot after Edward IV's accession. Ruston was provided for by being made prior of Hurley.

(*Millyng*)

Whatever was the real meaning of the *coup d'état*, it was fully justified by its results. Thomas Millyng, who became abbot two years later on the death of Norwych, was a great man. He was a preacher, and also learned. A doctor of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, he was incorporated at Cambridge in 1471, and is said to have known Greek. He was certainly a capable ruler; and he was determined that the reproach of Westminster—the ruinous state of its nave—should be wiped away. The period of hesitation and dilatoriness is over. At Christmas 1467 he is appointed warden of the New Work, and at once we enter upon an era of activity.

In the roll for 1468 we find masons employed at an average of ten or eleven a week. But the chief feature of the account is the building of a great scaffold. Richard Pache and others receive £17 11*s.* 0*d.* for work *circa scafold' et gynnes et tect' novi operis et circa mer*[*emium*], &c.[1] Timber is cut down and brought from Hendon, Kensington, and Endyth; the sawyers saw 13,947 feet of elm and oak planks and 'quarters'; the necessary implements are bought, e. g. ropes and *cordes de baste*, ladders, two new *pavones*, and two 'great veils' (*magna vela*) to protect the masons from wind and rain.[2] Two other items are of interest. A payment is made *pro clausura in ecclesia ad finem chori*; and eight labourers are employed *circa magnum scaffold fiend' et circa mundac' magn' fenestr' in navi ecclesie.* At first sight it is tempting to identify the 'great window in the nave' with the great west window; but the abbreviation may equally well stand for the plural, and the windows referred to are probably those of the aisle or clerestory, which were also 'great' (see p. 38 n.).

We notice that Richard Pache was paid for work on the *tectum novi operis*, i. e. the roof as well as the scaffold. Next year this statement is explained, for then one of the bays was roofed. In the account for this year, 1468–9, three carpenters are paid £12 for work on the scaffolds, &c., and *circa le framyng et erectionem tecti ecclesie in novo opere.* This in itself is vague. But most fortunately there is still extant (*Munim.* 6228) a 'bill endented', made the 2nd day of September [1469] between 'Thomas Millyng mayster of the new werkys of the monastory of Saynt Peter of Westm'' and 'John Rogerson plummer of London', which witnesses 'that the forsayd

[1] In all £36 3*s.* 3½*d.* is spent on the scaffolding and carpenters' work; £14 8*s.* on *ferramenta.*

[2] Cf. 1472–3, *in 31 ulnis lin' de canvas pro defensione ardoris solis et pro imbribus pluvie* 10*s.* 4*d.*

Thomas oweth unto the forsayd John for werkemanshepe for newe lede and old lede sowder with other thynges perteynyng unto a new severie [i. e. bay] upon the new werke of the sayd monastory', £37 16*s.* 0*d.* Here is clear evidence that Millyng roofed one bay, and the question arises: which bay? We must note that Millyng was not prepared to go forward with the roofing for the present: he had no store of timber; and in fact nothing further was done on the roof till 1474. What single bay was he likely to roof by itself? Looking at the diagram we see that one bay stands in a unique position—no. 5. It should properly belong to the old work; and it is the natural starting-place for continuing the roof. Millyng was working at the end of the choir the year before, making a new *clausura*; and we may conclude that this was the bay which he roofed. Before doing this he must have finished the clerestory walls of that bay, which explains the heavy masons' work in the previous year. Now the windows in these walls are also unique. We have assumed that the clerestory walls were well advanced in Henry V's time, at any rate the pattern of the windows must have been fixed then: and now John Redyng devises a transitional window to join the old and the new work, the lights agreeing with the old, the quatrefoil with the new.[1]

We must take note of another piece of work this year. First, ironwork is made for two new windows £16, and four 'lodes of timber' are used for a scaffold.[2] Then two glaziers are paid £6 2*s.* 8*d.* for working ninety-two days at the glazing of two windows *de navi ecclesie*, and coloured glass is bought for them.[3] At first sight it seems natural to suppose that these are the two clerestory windows of the newly roofed bay. But we shall meet with the account for the glazing of fifteen clerestory windows at a later date: therefore, as the price of the ironwork points to large windows, they must be two windows of the aisle. When we ask—which two? we must confess that there is a lacuna in our knowledge. Nowhere have I come across any account for the glazing

[1] In assigning Millyng's work to this bay I venture to differ from Mr. Micklethwaite's expressed opinion, and for a vindication of my presumption I must refer to Appendix II (p. 52).

[2] *Et in 4 lod' merem' pro scaffold' nil hic quia de merem' relict' ad baptizationem filie domini regis.*

[3] *Et in vitro colorato empt' hoc anno* £3 19*s.*; *et in di' wawe vitri de Rene* 18*s.* 4*d.* *Et in 6 seme et di' vitri anglicani . . .* £5 4*s.* *Et sol' 2 vitrariis per 92 dies operant' circa vitriacionem 2 fenestr' de navi ecclesie . . .* £6 2*s.* 8*d.* *Et in uno plate de auricalco ad moland' colores pro vitrear'* 12*s.* 7*d.* *Et pro factur' le anelyng herth pro brike et al' necessariis de stauro.* *Et in papiro empt'* [. . .] *vitrear'* 8*d.*

of the aisle windows: further search must be made. Meanwhile if we may connect them with the new *clausura* at the end of the choir—though what this was does not appear—they would be the windows of the fifth and newly roofed bay.[1]

(*Millyng's finance*)

After these efforts, the work was reduced in the next year, 1469–70. There is no scaffolding; the number of masons is decreased; ironwork is made for two new windows, £12 6*s.* 0*d.*; and Thomas the glazier works forty-six days. The bill of expenses is consequently less—only £86 4*s.* 3*d.* But in 1468 the total expenditure had been £244 9*s.* 4*d.* (of which about £181 was spent on the work itself), leaving a deficit of £163 17*s.* 10*d.*; and the following year £202 15*s.* 11*d.* was spent (about £168 on the *N. O.*), still leaving a deficit of £133. It is surprising that after rusticating his abbot for running into debt, Millyng himself should within a year incur a deficit of over £163. This confirms our idea that more underlay the deposition than meets the eye. But our interest is to inquire how the deficit was met, and we shall find Millyng originating new methods of raising money.

First, he put up in the church a box for voluntary offerings—'the new pyx', as it was called. This expedient, though an obvious one, was not very lucrative. In the first year (1468–9) it produced £1 13*s.* 3½*d.*, but next year *nil*. Then it began again with 5*s.* 9*d.*, and after some fluctuations, gradually declined until it reached 7*d.* in 1486–7, and *nil* in 1487–8.[2] In the second place, he induced his brethren to contribute. On reading the account rolls of the convent, we discover that from one source and another a monk of Westminster received a fair amount of *peculium*, or pocket-money, during the year. This somewhat takes the edge off our surprise when from time to time we come across a monk in command of a considerable sum of money. The monks now agreed to contribute a mark a year each to the New Work. They also denied themselves one of their summer treats, viz. the sum of £5 which the monk baily had paid for a recreation or harvest outing at Battersea.[3] This contribution, the total of which came to about £33–£36 a year,

[1] In 1472–3 repairs were done *super cameram sacriste in occidentali parte ecclesie*: had they any connexion with the *clausura*?

[2] The pyx produced in all £7 14*s.* 4*d. plus* £8 17*s.* 1*d. cum litteris indulgentie dñi pape* in 1497–8. See App. IV, p. 59.

[3] 1477–8, *et de 5 libris rec' de Ballivo nuper assignatis pro recreationibus fratrum tempore autumnali tent' apud Batrichesey.*

lasted on to the end with one change, when in 1523–4 the levy was reduced from 13*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.*[1] Thirdly, he collected gifts from secular persons, which varied in amount, but are considerably less than the contributions of the brethren.[2]

These 'oblations' then required supplementing. It is probable that Millyng had hopes of royal help: but, whether it were so or no, he was favoured by a sudden turn of fortune. The rebellion of Warwick, and the flight of Edward IV from London and the throne in September 1470, brought prosperity to Westminster. For Edward's queen, Elizabeth Wydvile, fled to the abbey to take sanctuary, and remained there six months. Millyng, who was now abbot, received her hospitably and stood godfather to the young prince Edward who was born in the precincts. His elder sister had been baptized in the church in 1469 (p. 31, n. [2]). The return of Edward in March 1471 was speedily followed by his complete victory at Tewkesbury, and the opportunity was now come for royal gratitude. Queen Elizabeth founded the chantry and chapel of St. Erasmus. Edward IV promised £100 a year to the New Work. The queen also added a 'collation' to the same, and the young Prince of Wales, as soon as he was four years old, was made to give 20 marks a year. But royal promises are not always realized, and a frequent entry is *De dono domini regis c librarum—nil hoc anno.* The prince alone paid his 20 marks regularly until he was twelve years old (1481–2). Perhaps the annual entry, on the other side of the account, of a recreation to certain members of the prince's council (*de consilio principis*), with an annual regard to his treasurer, may help to account for this.[3] But though the king only gave in three years, the amount of his contribution £239 3*s.* 0*d.* exceeded that of either the queen (£173 13*s.* 4*d.*) or the prince (£106 13*s.* 4*d.*). In all, the royal gifts came to £519 9*s.* 8*d.*

George Norwych had died in 1469, and naturally Thomas Millyng became abbot in his place. This necessitated an expensive journey to Rome for confirmation by the Pope, which will explain the slackening of the work in 1469–70. He also ceased to be warden, and Thomas Crosse was appointed for 1470–1. The chief event to

[1] Millyng himself, when he left office at Mich. 1470, had a deficit of £83 15*s.* 5*d.* *de quo excessu remisit* £53 15*s.* 5*d.*

[2] Legacies form a large part of these. The total amount contributed from 1468 till 1490, after which these offerings cease, (including a legacy of £69 in 1486–7) was £264 2*s.* 4*d.*

[3] Cf. 1473–4, *in regard' dat' uxori, filiis et filiabus dicti Johannis* [*Crayford*] 3*s.* 4*d.*; *dicto Johanni* 10*s.* John Crayford was the deputy of Sir Roger Ree, the queen's receiver.

be noted this year is the appearance of Robert Stowell as master mason in the place of John Redyng.[1] Stowell, who ceased to work for wages as a mason in 1475–6, held the office for thirty-four years. In 1470–1 we find him leasing tenements in Tothill Street from the *Novum Opus*, but later he leases two tenements in the Sanctuary on the west side *introitus de le Brodegatis*, and in the convent register (f. 22) he is called 'Robert Stowell gentilman'. In 1489–90 he gave £3 6*s.* 8*d.* to the *Novum Opus* on condition of himself and his wife being admitted into fraternity with the convent. Two carpenters are paid for 'covering the walls of the new work' (5*s.* 4*d.*), and two tilers are occupied in the same business. Lead is also used for this purpose *super muros novi operis*. This covering of the walls (*coopertura murorum*) with tiling and lead becomes almost an annual charge. Lastly, Thomas the glazier 'shuts up (*claudent*') the south window with reeds (*arundine*) to exclude the pigeons'. By 'the south window' we should naturally understand the south window of the south transept; but perhaps this indicates the first step in the process of blocking up all the windows of the nave.[2]

(*Esteney*)

John Esteney, one of the three commissioners of 1467, succeeded Crosse at Michaelmas 1471; and when, three years later, Millyng was made bishop of Hereford—a promotion for which we are not unprepared—Esteney became abbot. The same year (1473–4) the queen honoured the New Work with a visit, which was rather a burdensome honour, as the recreation to her majesty with her lords and ladies cost the office £4 11*s.* 8*d.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* was distributed among her officers.

The twenty-six years of Esteney's wardenship were to be years of eventful progress. Millyng had made a start, and laid down the lines for financing the work; Esteney was to carry out what he had begun. In one respect Esteney made an innovation. When he became abbot he retained the wardenship of the new work, and the succeeding abbots followed his example. This is significant of a change that was coming over monastic life. In earlier days the convent had maintained a vigorous life, independent of, and often in opposition to, its abbot; and its affairs had been administered by its own officers. That life was now decaying; and the abbot began to accumulate the more important offices in

[1] Stowell had worked for 30 weeks in 1468–9. Redyng gave £5 to the work on retiring: *de dono Johannis Redyng nuper magistri cement'* £5.

[2] Cf. in 1472–3, *et in clausur' fenestr' ex parte australi ad finem occidentalem ecclesie*; and see pp. 37 and 38, note [1].

his own person. It had indeed been customary to combine offices, and of this we have had several illustrations. But Esteney was the first abbot to hold an office in the monastery; and he was sacrist, cellarer, and warden of the new work at once. The work, of course, was done by delegates, but the abbot retained its direction with the control of the money.

Tradition, fortified by Widmore's authority, has always credited Esteney with the making of the great west window. In one sense the credit was too much; for some part of the window at least was in position before 1468 (p. 23); and it was Islip, in the next century, who glazed it. On the other hand, the tradition falls far short of the reality. A truer estimate of Esteney's work is given in a short account of him written by John Felix, who was a monk at Westminster from 1525 to 1537: 'Fourthly,' he says, 'in his care for the house of Israel, he provided that the building of this minster should go forward; so that both the vaultings of the new work, that is, both the higher and the lower vaulting, together with the great window over the west door, were fully completed while he was yet alive.'[1]

The rolls at this period become very lengthy and full of detail. They give the names of all the masons and carpenters employed, and, later, of the labourers. The greatest amount of detail is concerned with the timber and the carpenters' work, the raising of scaffolding, &c. Trees—elms and oaks—were cut down at Hyde, Knightsbridge, Estgrove, and Hendon; and later at Highwood Hill (after 1477), le Frith, and Downage or Downhegge, (after 1489)[2]; thence they were carted to the sawpits or the 'timberhawe' at Westminster. Where the timberhawe was we cannot say; but it must have been in the vicinity of Dean's Yard;

[1] In a MS. in the British Museum, Claud. A viii, f. 64[b]: 'Quarto curam habens de domo Israel proinde ut [*lege* providit ut] fabrica istius monasterii procederet: ita ut utraque volta novi operis, videlicet tam superior quam inferior, una cum magna fenestra supra hostium hoccidentale ipso adhuc superstite ad plenum firmarentur.' We shall find reasons, however, for modifying this statement about the *completion* of the vaulting.

Compare the verses printed by Widmore (p. 204):—

Impensisque suis processit fabrica templi,
Cui magis idoneos qualibet arte viros
Providit, bifariaque venustat imagine templum;
Una Petri gestat altera Pauli effigiem.

[2] As these places became exhausted, Pyrford (in 1524–5) and Laleham (in 1531–2) were laid under contribution. After 1491 lathes, &c., are brought almost annually from Kingston, as they had been over a century before.

for twice, in 1472–3 and 1476–7, some timber is said to have been brought 'to the elms' (*usque ulmos*) which was then a name for the northern part of Dean's Yard.[1] A layman feels very much at sea amidst the wealth of technical terms—*assers* and *tables* (i. e. planks), *planchebord*, *elmenbord*, *oakenbord*; *slittyngwerk* and *quarters*; *somers* and *bemys*; *giestes* and *rafters*; *braces*, *wynbemes* or *wyndow bemes*, and *crosse andrewes*. But it serves to make him realize the difficulty, the expense, and the labour of raising scaffolds for such a work as the vaulting and roofing of the nave, at 100 feet and 132 feet from the ground. In 1472–3, while preparations are being made for the roofing, we find that there are three scaffolds—the lower, higher, and highest (*inferior*, *superior*, and *supremus*); elsewhere we read of the great scaffold and the small scaffolds (*magnum* and *parva*). The great wheel and the ginnies, with their pulleys of brass or iron, which hauled up the stones and timber, are of corresponding importance and require a good deal of tackling and constant repair.[2] With all this wealth of detail we often long for some precise statement as to where and what the work actually was; but there are sufficient indications to enable us, with more or less certainty, to follow its course, which we will proceed to do.

(*The roofing*)

In 1472–3 Esteney set to work to collect timber for the roof. As a result of his exertions he obtained gifts of 132 oaks. The prior of Christ Church in London gave 8 oaks at Westerham; the monastery of St. Albans gave 24 oaks in Boreham Wood; the Lord Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) gave 40 oaks at 'Tolson Darcy'[3] in Essex. The King gave 40 oaks in *le kyngeswode* at 'Ledys' (Leeds) in Kent. Sir Thomas Bowcer gave 20 more from the same wood; and the convent bought another 103, making in all 235 oaks.[4] The whole expense in the obtaining, cutting down, and shaping, and in the transport to Westminster, of this wood came to £78 10*s*. 11½*d*., which is

[1] *le Cheynygates* is mentioned in 1496–7.

[2] In 1472–3, *3 poleys ferr'* for *le gynne aquatic'* 3*s*. 8*d*.; in 1483–4, *2 poleas eneas* 3*s*. 10*d*.; in 1487–8, *lez gynnes et poleys . . . et le takelyng de le gynne apud molendinum*. Cp. 1480–1, *circa factur' gynnor' pendencium et non pendencium*.

[3] i. e. Tolleshunt D'Arcy. *Bowcer* on the next line probably is the same as Bousser, i. e. Bourchier. Is the *Canewode* below (p. 37) the same as Caen Wood, Highgate?

[4] Wren in his report says that chestnut was used in the roof (Widmore, p. 49), but there is no mention of chestnuts in the account rolls.

entered under the heading *Custus meremii pro novo opere et asserac' sarrat'*. With this store the roofing could be taken in hand, and next year this heading occurs in the account, *Custus circa tecturam iii severyns novi operis* £242 1*s.* 9½*d.*—in all £376 12*s.* 8*d.* was spent that year on the *Novum Opus*. Nine carpenters were at work for various lengths of time between May 8 and Oct. 30, 1474, with a wages bill (including four labourers) of £36 9*s.* 2*d.* The greatest expense was caused by the lead. 31 fodders of lead were bought for *le stepe roof novi operis* from the priory of Christ Church, London—otherwise Holy Trinity, Aldgate—for £139 10*s.*; and with the cost of casting over 34 fodders and other items the lead bill came to £187 15*s.* 5*d.* We have now accounted for the roofing of bays 6, 7, and 8. The following years the scaffolding moves along, so to speak. The *custus circa scaffold'* is about £16 in 1474–5, £18 in 1475–6, £37 in 1476–7.[1] In 1475–6 'three windows on the north side of the new work' are boarded up—perhaps in the clerestory of bays 9 to 11. By 1476–7 the scaffolding seems to have reached the west end, for that year the carpenters' work is *circa tria scaffoldia et situac' gynnorum in campanilibus et magnum scaffoldum ac parva scaffoldia* (£4 8*s.*), and a lock is bought for a door *in fine partis occidentalis in summitate novi operis*. Further material is collected. That same year the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, gave sixty rafters at Orpington in Kent, and in 1477–8 the prior of Christ Church, London, gave six trees at Canewode. After all this work we find that in this year, 1477–8, the next stage in the roofing is completed. The heading is *Expens' circa tecturam ecclesie* £189 11*s.* 11*d.*; and the carpenters' work is thus specified: *circa le centyrs scaffoldes pro archebuttandis le whele emendaciones gynnorum et factura unius novi gynne et circa meremium in le fframyng pro tectura ecclesie et pro fenestris*. That the roofing is finished is shown by the advance of the carpenters who now begin to work on the centres and scaffolds for the flying buttresses. The bill for lead confirms this. No details are given, only this item: *solut' Will'mo Egerden*[2] *plumbar' pro tectura navis ecclesie* £136 4*s.* 10*d.* Unfor-

[1] These items include cutting down of the timber, carriage to Westminster, sawing, nails, &c., everything that would come under the carpenters' hands. This applies to the 'carpenters' bills' given below. I may also say now, once for all, that the various totals given are generally only approximate (that is except the whole *summa* for a year), because in the accounts the items are not always carefully differentiated under the several heads; and it is probable that some of the materials, &c., may have gone to the repair of houses.

[2] He has succeeded John Rogerson.

tunately it is not stated how far the roof went. From what follows it would appear to have been completed, and yet until the west wall and gable were finished it could hardly have reached the actual west end. So I conjecture that the roof covered the next three bays, 9, 10, and 11, thus finishing the nave proper.[1] It ended in a gable of its own,[2] and left the space between the towers to be finished off later.

We must not forget that the masons have been working hard all this time, finishing, I suppose, the walls of the clerestory in preparation for the roofing. The staff was about six, with occasional extra help; and in the years from 1471 to 1479 an average of 200 loads of stone was bought every year. In the same period we find from time to time mention of ironwork—for the windows of the clerestory, I suppose.[3] The next year after the roofing, 1478–9, the work slackened[4]; and the year after that, 1479–80, three master masons—or, as we should say now, three distinguished architects—were invited to inspect the church and give their advice.[5] This consultation serves to mark off the first period of Esteney's work, after which the stonework will resume its prominence. It also gives us a pause, and an opportunity to inquire into the finances.

These great works could not be carried out without a corresponding expenditure; and in the first eight years Esteney spent on the actual work[6] £1,740 18*s.* 10*d.*, at an average rate of £217 12*s.* 4*d.* a year. Millyng and Crosse in their four years had spent £570 18*s.* 8*d.*, or £142 14*s.* 8*d.* a year. In 1476–7 we come across a new source of income, viz. indulgences, though its exact form I am not able to explain: *de oblac' ad stationes dat'*

[1] In 1477–8 'six great windows in the nave of the church' were boarded up,—or possibly twelve: see app. note, p. 62.

[2] 1482–3, *in reparacione et ligacione le gable ende de alta tectura novi operis.*

[3] Neglecting smaller bills, for implements, &c., the amounts are:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*	
1471–2	4	13	4	*pro fenestris et al'*
1472–3	4	7	6	*pro fenestris et al'*
1474–5	10	4	3	*pro fenestris et rota et diversis machinamentis*
1475–6	10	3	0	*pro fenestris et magnis barris imponend' et combinand' lapides*
1476–7	10	4	8½	*pro ferramentis.*

[4] This year there were heavy expenses at Paddington and Hyde, £72 9*s.* 11*d.*

[5] *In regard' dat' cum una recreacione fact' 3 magistris lathamorum ad superintend' antiquam ecclesiam et novam et pro eorum consilio propter reparacionem anni sequentis* 5*s.* (not a very handsome fee!). With regard to the *antiqua ecclesia*, labourers were at work *cum latamis super le gable ende supra rosam in parte australi ecclesie et super le archbuttand' cum le archis cum carpentariis ibidem et in le Estende supra Feretrum sancti Edwardi.*

[6] i.e., as distinct from the total expenses of the office.

ad dict' opus in tempore Indulgenc' per abbatem de Abendon £60. This, however, was but an occasional help; only in two other years is this source of profit mentioned.[1] Accordingly, the other offices of the abbey were laid under contribution. Thus in 1477–8 the warden of St. Mary's chapel, the extrinsic treasurer, and the almoner paid £38 19*s.* 11*d.*; next year the bailiff, the warden of the chapel, and the intrinsic treasurer paid £39 16*s.* 3*d.*, and so forth. But in spite of these aids Esteney had to borrow £80 in 1477–8,[2] and at Michaelmas, 1479, his deficit stood at £271 0*s.* 10*d.*, which was raised the next year to £289 17*s.* 2¼*d.*

(*The vaulting*)

The inspection of the church by the master masons or distinguished architects was invited no doubt chiefly for the sake of their advice about the stone vaulting. In order to support this it was necessary first to build the flying buttresses. We have seen that as early as 1477–8 the carpenters were engaged in making centres and scaffolds *pro archebuttandis*. This is our first mention of the *archebuttands*, or *archebottants*, as they were called; and as late as 1713 Wren still speaks of the 'archbuttresses' (*ap.* Widmore, pp. 50, 51). The full phrase is *le archebottantes et arches ac pynacles* (1479–80); and according to Mr. Bond[3] the archbuttant is the straight bar which the arch supports. In 1478–9 six iron pins were bought as cramps for the archbuttants,[4] and no doubt the large order of 425 loads of Reigate stone that year was to supply material for them. The work on the archbuttants continues until 1482–3. In this year we must note by the way that the carpenters were repairing a house on the west side of the cloister[5]; for which was bought forty-four feet of oak timber for wallplates and joists, with 400 planks (*planchebord'*). This note shows that the part of the Deanery which rests upon the west cloister, and by tradition dates back to Tudor times, is really still older.[6]

[1] i. e. 1480–1, *de procuracione Roberti Essex de indulgentiis hic habitis sancti Johannis* £1 7*s.* 4*d.*; 1497–8, *de oblacione in novo pixide hoc anno cum litteris indulgent' domini pape* £8 17*s.* 1*d.*

[2] £60 from *Magistro Johanne Gurle* (*Gourll*) *canonico libere capell' sancti Stephani infra palat' regium Westm'*, and £20 from John Rogerson.

[3] *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 368, 380.

[4] 6 *pynnes ferreis pro le crappes* (? crampes) *archebuttandor'* 9*d.*

[5] *operant' super le flat ledes ex parte boriali claustri et in repar' unius domus ex parte occidentali dicti claustri et factur' unius novi guttur' ibidem* 53/10.

[6] i. e. in position. The house was rebuilt in Lord Keeper Williams' time, and one of the waterpipes bears the date 1631.

The year 1482 witnessed the commencement of the great undertaking of the vaulting. Besides the rolls of the *Novum Opus* there is still extant a roll with this title '*Perquos* of the account of Robert Essex surveyor of the vaulting (*supervisor operum voltorum*[1]) of the church of St. Peter Westminster'. The account runs from March 23, 1482 to May 11, 1483, that is into the reign of Edward V. The vaulting required a special effort, and Esteney determined to begin it at his own cost. He put the work into the hands of Robert Essex and gave him £115. Robert Essex had filled various offices in the convent, and at Michaelmas 1482 he became prior in the place of Thomas Arundel. Essex was the author of a petition to King Edward IV which gives us some curious information, and the fact that it is kept among the fabric documents must be our excuse for quoting it here (*Munim.* 6225): 'To the kyng our soveraign lord. Please it your most noble grace to call unto your good remembraunce how that your fframes ordaigned and made for the makyng of sylkes stondith as now unoccupied within your monastery of Westminster and that in consideracion thereof it wolde like your good grace to graunte the said fframes with their instrumentes ther'[to] necessarily belongyng unto your faithfull oratour Domp' Robert Essex and he shall ordaigne werkmen toccupie the same in the place there as they be at his costes and charges and over that continually prey to God for the preservacion of your most noble persone and estate roiall.'

To return to the vaulting, Essex bought 149 loads of stone, and employed twenty-three masons for varying intervals,[2] making an average of six or seven masons a week for the fifty-eight weeks of his surveyorship. This came to an end in May 1483, and after that the work was carried on by the *Novum Opus*. Unfortunately at this critical period the accounts for three years (1484–5, 1485–6, and 1488–9) are missing, so that we cannot trace the progress of the work with exactness. This is our evidence. Essex bought '1 great stone' and 'four other great stones', apparently for the bosses of one bay. There is no mention of such stones in 1483–4, and for the next two years we have no information. In 1486–7 we have 'one great stone called *le grete keye*', with 'five other smaller

[1] *Sic* in MS. The existence of this roll and of John Rogerson's bond (see p. 30) shows that sometimes the wardens or abbots undertook work of their own independently of the *Novum Opus*. A happy chance has preserved us these two documents. But there may have been other similar ones originally, and perhaps we are to account for the glazing of the aisle windows in this way.

[2] The total number of weeks comes to 374.

stones called *lez keyes*'[1]—another bay. In 1487–8 the same entry occurs twice over—2 bays.[2] Then the roll for 1488–9 is lost, but we know that in that year a special agreement (*convencio*) was made with Robert Stowell for the finishing of three severies and the arch at the top of the nave for £120, of which £74 was paid the same year. This is the only instance which we have come across of contract work on any large scale; and unfortunately we have not got Stowell's account of his expenditure. All that we know about it is contained in this entry in the roll of 1489–90: *et ulterius* (i.e. beyond his usual fee) *solut' predicto Roberto* £46, *in plenariam solucionem* £120 *de convencione in grosso trium severees et le arche in summitate navis ecclesie cum ipso fact' in anno precedenti.* These three severies could hardly have included the tower bay, for the subsequent course of the work shows that it was not completed now. Hence the arch at the top of the nave, which no doubt is the great arch at the west of the tower bay, marks the limit of Stowell's work, which therefore covered bays 9, 10, and 11. The question then arises—where did Essex begin in 1482? We should naturally have supposed at the fifth bay, but in the fifth and sixth bays there are undoubted Tudor badges which could not have been carved until after 1485. Essex then began to work on the seventh bay, and two bays (7, 8) had been finished when the contract for the completion of three more was made with Stowell in 1488–9. There is indeed a Tudor rose between the seventh and eighth bays, but the only safe inference to be drawn is that it marks the slow progress of the work, as it could hardly have been put up until after 1485. But this and the evidence of the bosses is discussed in Appendix III (p. 53).

[1] They were not called bosses here, for that was the name of a bucket: 1423–4, *pro ligacione unius cowle et i boket voc' le Bosse*; 1483–4, *pro factur' de uno magno Bosse.*

[2] These are the particulars:—

N. O. 1481–2, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus* 13*s.* 4*d.* This entry is new, and only occurs four times: it points to something special.

Essex, 1482–3, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus* 13*s.* 4*d.*; *et sol' pro i magno lapid'* 8*s.*; *et in regard' dat' pro iv aliis magnis petris habend'* 1*s.* 4*d.*

N. O. 1482–3, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar'* 12*s.*

1483–4, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus benefactis* 12*s.*

1486–7, *in regard' pro uno magno lapide vocat' grete keye* 9*s.* 6*d.*
et in regard' pro aliis quinque minoribus vocatis lez keyes 8*s.* 4*d.*

1487–8, *in regard' pro i magno lapide voc' le grete keye* 12*s.* 4*d.*
in regard' pro aliis quinque minoribus voc' lez keyes 8*s.* 4*d.*

The same entry is repeated lower down this year. It is not a repetition by mistake, for the two entries accompany two orders of Reigate stone, 59 cartloads and 49 respectively.

In these past eight years (1482–90) the carpenters had been occupied chiefly in moving the scaffolding from severy to severy as the work advanced. The scaffolding was elaborate. Each portion of the great scaffold, upon which the centres stood and where the masons worked, was floored and shut off by partitions from wind and weather. With the scaffolding the great wheel and the ginnies had also to be moved from bay to bay. Above the 'beams'[1] and the vaulting, and stretching beyond the centres, there was a scaffold or boarding on which the great wheel was placed so as to raise up the great keys. Pains were taken to exclude the wind and the pigeons: and the great windows of the new work were all boarded up. Incidentally we learn that the new work was separated from the old church, at least in the upper story, by canvas stretched upon a wooden framework.[2]

In 1490, the year which we have reached in the vaulting, there is a great increase in the carpentry bill, which amounts to £60. It is thus explained. Richard Russell was making *lez grete scaffoldes in summitate navis ecclesie* and moving the centres to the next bays: then he was occupied at 'le Frith' in making *le newe scaffoldes pro lez syde yles* of the church; he also raised the same and made a new lodge in the timberhawe. This shows that the vaulting of the side aisles is now to be taken in hand. In the year 1490–1, then, there are four different works going on. (1) Richard Russell is making scaffolds and centres at the west end of the church, which is a sign that the tower bay was not yet vaulted. (2) He is also making the scaffolds for *lez batilments*, for which thirty-eight *dolia* of Caen stone were bought. (3) The

[1] Are these the tie-beams of the roof?

[2] The details given are very lengthy. I abstract the chief features:

1486–7, *removend' magne rote in novo opere et dimittend' lez centures subtus novum volt', et in removend' magni scaffold ubi lez centures stabant et in removend' unius scaffold' et lez gynnes cum merem' et lez bordes super lez bemys et supra le volt' ad vehend' magnam rotam in dicto novo opere . . . pro le boordyng magn' fenestrarum dicti novi operis . . . operando super lez floores dicti n. o. . . . faciend' unius frame et unius hostii incedend' usque dictum n. o. . . . faciend' et ponend' lez centures et stayes cum scaffoldis supra lez bemes ultra lez centures et in faciend' divers' necess' ad convehend' le grete keye cum aliis keyes . . . faciend' . . . unum centur' ad constringend' le canvas inter opus et ecclesiam ad excludend' ventum.*

1487–8, *deponendo lez scaffoldes et synturs et removendo eorundem ad proximum severe et ibidem eos dimittendo ac levando unius frame inter novum opus ecclesie et vetus ubi le canvas stringebatur pro vento. et includendo fenestras in ambabus partibus n. o. desuper et subtus lez scaffoldes antedictis . . . levando le perticion subtus voltam super le magnum scaffold ad excludend' ventum . . . excludendo ventum et columbas in lez flores magni scaffoldi ac includendo magnas fenestras et hostia in dicto n. o.*

vaulting of the side aisles is in progress, and Thomas Devenish and Robert Ederett, carpenters, are occupied in 'excluding the wind *in lez round wyndowes desuper les voltes*,' that is, in the triforium windows, which are just above the aisle vaulting. This work seems to be still going on in 1493–4, for the wind has still to be excluded from the round windows in that year. (4) Lastly, there is a heavy lead bill, £43 7*s.* 7½*d.* This is enough to roof a severy. Unfortunately, no details are given. It is tempting to think that it was to finish the roof between the towers; but a great deal of lead was bought in 1501–2 which may have been for this purpose. No details are given which can enable us to decide. All that we can find is that next year (1491–2) the carpenters are working with the plumbers on *les sydeflatroofes*; and as these roofs had been made in 1415 and 1418, they may have needed some renewal: moreover the gutters and pipes for the 'steep roof' would use up much lead. These works, especially the scaffolding, kept the carpentry bill very high; for the eight years 1482–90 (including the £60) it had averaged £17 8*s.* 5*d.* a year. But the following years it was to be higher still: for the seven years 1490–97 it averaged £32 2*s.* a year.

In 1491–2 Esteney bought twenty great stones, each too big for one cart.[1] These stones must have been intended for keys, and keys greater than those of the aisles. They would therefore be those required for the tower bay and the bays left unfinished in the nave. The chief feature, however, of this year is the first definite mention of work upon the great west window. Richard Russell is engaged in making and removing *les scaffoldes in occident' fenestr' ecclesie*; and Simon the smith is paid £32 13*s.* 10*d.* for 'all the iron-work pertaining to the great west window, viz. 3,503 lb. of Spayneshe Iron'. Next year 300 feet of great oaken quarters are bought for the centres for the west window (3*s.*), and planks and 'slyttingwork' for 'the great centres' (? for the vaulting of the tower) 10*s.*; Russell also makes a pentice over the new west window and covers the jambs

[1] *Et sol' pro xx^ti magnis lapidibus qui fuerunt ultra mensuram unius carect'.* This year four *estrichebordes* were bought *pro belwhelys & moldis faciend'* (4*s.*), and next year Russell has to repair the great *belwhele in parvo campanile.* A bill of W. Egerden 'to the sexten's office' for 1488-9 (*Munim.* 19811) would seem to show that this *parvum campanile* now being fitted up with wheels for the bells was the north tower (the south tower was not yet high enough), here called *parvum* in distinction from the old Belfry. On Oct. 1, 1489, Egerden 'delyver'd to the Belfry of the New Werke . . . new lede for the gotters of the Belfrey . . . Item, . . a pipe and a cestren for y^e^ same werke', and on Oct. 10 'newe lede to the Belfrey of the New Werke for a pype and a thorow gotter'.

and raises and takes down the centres and scaffolds there,[1] i. e. at the window. Other centres and scaffolds remain through the years 1493–5, and in the latter of these two years the great window and the arch above it seem to have been finished, for we now hear of 'bordyng' above (*super*) the west end of the church. Next year (1495–6) ironwork is made for two new windows *in le gabulend*, and there is more boarding. Now we know that until the restoration in the eighteenth century there were only boards in the gable end, as Wren himself tells us in 1713 (*ap.* Widmore, p. 52): 'The great west window is also too feeble, and the gable end of the roof over it is but weather-boards painted.'

The three years 1494–7 show an increase in the masons' activity. Caen stone was bought again,[2] and the number of masons is increased from five to eight. But this last spurt brings us to the end of Esteney's rule. The good abbot died on May 24, 1498. He was buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, and we rejoice to think that we still possess his effigy on a brass. The encomium of John Felix has been justified. In his twenty-six years of wardenship Esteney had spent almost £4,400[3] on the New Work. He had finished the roof and the west end, the flying buttresses and battlements, i. e. the outer fabric of the church. And within, although three bays (5, 6, and 12) still remained to be vaulted, he had done the chief part of the beautiful vaulting which is the glory of the nave.

(*Fasset*)

George Fasset succeeded Esteney as abbot and warden. His tenure of office was short, as he died in October 1500; and no details of the work in these years are given which call for special note, except that stones were dug up and brought from 'Rosamond's Boure.' But Fasset deserves praise on financial grounds. When Esteney died he left a deficit in the office of the *Novum Opus* of nearly £600 (£599 9*s*. 2*d*.). Of this we read at the foot of the account for 1497–8: *Que summa perdonatur ex mero motu domini nunc abbatis pro anima pie memorie domini Johannis Estney nuper*

[1] *faciendo pentis desuper novam occidentalem fenestr' ecclesie ac cooperiend' lez geambes eiusdem erigendoque et deponend' de lez centures & scaffoldes ibidem.*

[2] 252 *dol'* altogether. For the three years they bought 255, 49, and 86 (with 96 loads of rag) *dol'* of stone respectively.

[3] Actually £4,398 1*s*., i. e. £3,785 6*s*. 3*d*. for the twenty-three years for which we have accounts, *plus* an average of £164 11*s*. 7*d*. for the other three years *plus* £119 spent on the vaulting. See, however, p. 37, note [1].

abbatis predecessoris sui cui predicta debita pertinebant. This means that Fasset excused the arrears due to him, and so wiped out the deficit of the *Novum Opus*; in other words he made it a present of about £6,000 of our money. For this benefaction Fasset well deserves the fine tomb which preserves his memory in St. John the Baptist's chapel.

(*Islip finishes the Nave*)

John Islip, who was elected to succeed Fasset on Oct. 27, 1500, was the last of the great abbots. His rule lasted for thirty-two years; and a recent account of his abbacy by the Dean of Westminster is to be found in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1907. Islip had the joy and the honour of finishing the nave;[1] but though we use the word 'finish', it is difficult to point to the exact year in which the work was done. There is no trace of any ceremony of dedication, or, as we should have now, of public opening; and the reader of the records must choose his own date.

Islip finished the nave: but not with the alacrity and zeal which we should have expected. In his thirty-one years of office he spent just over £3,500[2] (not all of which was on the new work) with an average of £113 a year, whereas Esteney's average was £164 11*s.* 7*d.* a year. There are several reasons to account for this. First, Islip was engaged in building on his own account. He built the chambers on the north side of Cheyneygates, i. e. the abbot's courtyard, which contain Jericho Parlour and now form part of the Deanery.[3] This building involved the blocking up of part of the south window under the tower; on the other hand he made the picturesque window which looks from them into the south aisle of the church and which is generally known as the 'Abbot's Pew'. Later on he built a chantry chapel for himself, called the Jesus Chapel, where he now lies. Secondly, a new era of building began at the east end of the

[1] Hacket in his *Life of Abp. Williams* (p. 45) gives the whole credit of the building of the nave to Islip: 'He enlarged the length of the church at his own cost, from the entring in of the quire or thereabout to the westgate that looks towards Tuttle Street.'

[2] Actually £3,503 13*s.* 3*d.*, i. e. £3,277 12*s.* 5*d.* for 29 years and an average of £113 0*s.* 5*d.* for two other years. (See p. 37, note [1].)

[3] In the last year of Esteney, 1496–7, twelve loads of ragstone were carried from Eybury to the church, and thirty-four loads from Cheynygates at 4*d.* a load. *Et in cariag' de xii lodes Rag ab Eybury usque ad ecclesiam* 4*s.* *Et in cariag' de xxxiv lodes a le Cheynygates usque ad ecclesiam* at 2*d.* a load, 5*s.* 8*d.* This looks as if Esteney had begun or had contemplated the building of these chambers.

church, where Henry VII built a new Lady Chapel intended at first to serve as a burying-place for Henry VI, and afterwards for himself. In the account for 1502–3 we find the carpenters and labourers engaged in taking down (*deponendo*) the chapel of St. Erasmus and in the demolition (*prosternacione*) of the chapel of Blessed Mary, which had been built in Henry III's time: and out of the ruins Sir William Tiler, the king's master of the works, sold to the *Novum Opus* in 1503–4 £80 worth of stone. Islip himself laid the foundation stone on Jan. 24, 1503; and the building occupied the next twelve or fifteen years. It was built in the fullest development of Perpendicular with all the glories of fan tracery: Leland called it a 'wonder of the world' (*miraculum orbis*); and we can well imagine that it cast into the shade the nave at the other end of the church, which was still being built almost in the old style of the thirteenth century.[1] Thirdly, Islip had to meet several extra expenses,[2] which prevented his keeping a balance on the right side; and in particular a notable charge, costing the *Novum Opus* over £200, which we shall come across in the course of our narrative (p. 48).

Islip's work on the nave easily falls into chapters or periods. The first chapter, 1500–6, is the most important one; for it witnesses the completion of the fabric, i. e. of what Esteney had left undone both at the east and the west end of the nave. In 1501–2 there was a heavy lead bill. Thirteen fodders of lead were acquired,[3] and the total expense came to £72 2*s.* 2½*d.* We should connect this with the information about the carpenters. Richard Russell and others received £17 for working *circa finem ultimi framii in novo opere ecclesie.* If we interpret these words in their simplest sense,[4] they would imply that the vaulting of the tower bay, and the roof above it, were now completed.[5]

[1] According to Widmore (p. 122) Henry VII left 500 marks towards the finishing of the work, but there is no trace of these marks in the accounts.

[2] In 1501–2 the *Novum Opus* paid £48 4*s.* 5*d.* to cover the bad debts of the sacrist and intrinsic treasurer. In 1514–5 it paid for two 'whitwasshers' working in the chapter house 110 days £7 6*s.* 8*d.* For five years, from 1522 to 1527, it paid £10 a year in payment *magni subsidii domino regi per clerum anglie concessi.* In 1527–8 a *nov' edific' apud Hyde* cost £21 6*s.* 1*d.*

[3] One of these was given by Stephen Jenyng, alderman of London.

[4] *Ultimus* may be last in time, and be the scaffolding referred to below on p. 47. If the thirteen fodders were more than were needed for the end of the roof, then the surplus may have been used for roofing some of the little towers at the corners of the great towers, which had reached a level where they could stop: see Hollar's drawing of the west end (p. 50).

The carpenters' bill continues to be heavy in the following years,[1] but full details are not given as hitherto. They are working *circa lez scaffoldes*; centres are also mentioned. Then in the entry for 1504–5 occur four words which throw a flood of light upon it. The carpenters receive £18 17*s.*; timber is bought for scaffolding, and over 17,000 'quarters' of 'elmenbord' and 'slyttyngwork' are sawn *pro nova volta ecclesie.* This entry was, as I had written in the first draft of this paper, 'most perplexing' so long as one held to the belief naturally to be derived from the perusal of the accounts hitherto that in 1482–90 all the seven bays of the nave (5–11) had been vaulted. But as soon as we recognize that the keystones of bays 5 and 6 could not have been carved until after 1485, the new information becomes illuminating. The heavy carpenters' work in the years 1503–5 (and possibly 1501–2 also) was the preparation of the scaffolding and centres for the 'new vaulting' of bays 5 and 6. And when this vaulting is finished in 1505–6, the fabric of the nave is now complete: the masons' work at once diminishes, and all that remains to be done is to provide the necessary furniture and ornamentation.

Thus the next chapter, from 1506 to 1510, records the glazing of the windows. It is also to be noted that in the two years 1507–9 the walls were washed.[2] In 1505–6, 3*s.* 4*d.* was paid to a glazier coming from Malvern [3] to see the windows. Next year the account is missing, but in 1507–8 Richard Twyge, glazier, received £37 6*s.* 8*d.* for the glazing of fourteen windows of the upper story of the church, i.e. of bays 5 to 11.[4] Next year Henry Saunder was engaged for twenty-four days in reeding the windows of the church (*pro opilacione fenestr' ecclesie cum le rede* 10*s.*) and 114 ells of canvas were also bought for them. These must be the west window, with perhaps the other windows of the towers, and the round windows. For in the case of these latter, as of the aisle windows, there is no mention of glazing in the rolls.[5] But next year, 1509–10, Richard Twyge filled the

[1] In 1501–2, £35.
(1502–3, demolition of the Lady Chapel).
1503–4, £37 11*s.*
1504–5, £28 12*s.* 6*d.*

[2] 1507–8, *pro locione mur' in novo opere* 7*s.* 4*d.*; 1508–9, *pro locione murorum in n. o.* £2 4*s.* 4*d.* In 1508–9 also occurs this entry: *et sol' pro liuione* (? *linione*) *hostii n. o. et pro factura ii scochyons* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[3] *Solut' uni vetriar' venient' de Malvourn'.*

[4] *Solut' Ricardo Twyge veteriar' pro le glasyng de xiv fenestris superior' store ecclesie ex convenc' in grosso*: 1,200 *bryk* were also bought for him, 6*s.* 4*d.*

[5] Except for the two aisle windows in Mylling's time (p. 31). In 1503–4 we

great west window with glass, for which he received £44, and also one window in the upper story for £3. This must be the clerestory window on the north side of bay 12; for at this time the corresponding story of the south tower was far from completion. This ends the period of glazing.

The next period is that of paving, 1510–17. To get ready for this, 469 cartloads of *le rubysshe* were removed from the church in 1508–9, as again 121 in 1511–12; indeed, about this time rubbish is a frequent item under the head of carting. Stones also had been bought, viz., 1,000 *le paving stone* for £15 in 1507–8, and 2,000 more (£30) in 1508–9. Then in 1510–11 four 'hardhewers' are engaged for four weeks *pro pavying in navi ecclesie.* The purchase of paving stone, or 'marbull' as it is once called, with the work of the hardhewers, goes on till 1517 and then stops.[1] Within this period there had also been a renewal of activity among the carpenters from 1513 to 1516. They were engaged in making scaffolds and centres, and in 1514–15 their sphere of work was *circa les bell whelez.* This looks as if they were preparing the second story of the north tower to receive the bells.[2] But this work, too, stopped next year. For a new burden had fallen on the warden of the New Work; in 1517–18 he had to rebuild the chancel of St. Margaret's. The *billa* giving the items is still attached to the roll for the year. The cost was £191 11*s.* 1½*d.*, towards which the parishioners contributed £30, leaving the warden to pay £161 11*s.* 1½*d.*, which he had to recover by slackening the New Work for a time.[3] In 1524–5, 69 feet of *hardestone de Kentt* is bought for the steps (*le steppys*) in St. Margaret's; and again £53 is paid in 1528–9 for the stalls there. Kentish hardstone had also been bought for the *Novum Opus* in 1520–1 and 1523–4[4]; and hardhewers were at work from 1520 to 1524. From the instance of

read: *solut' Christoforo fabro hoc anno pro ferramentis iii fenestrar' borialium novi operis ponder'* (779 lbs.) £4 17*s.* 4½*d.* To judge from the weight and price these must be small windows, probably round windows of the triforium.

[1] In all 8,550 paving-stones, costing £128 5*s.*

[2] The bells hung in this tower in Wren's time. He says: 'The two towers are . . . too low: for the bells are so much lower than the roof that they are not heard southward so well as they would be a mile off' (Widmore, p. 52). See above, p. 43 n.

[3] A curious mistake illustrates the carelessness in the abbey finances at this time. The deficit at the foot of the roll for 1517–18 is £107 10*s.* 10¼*d.* This appears at the head of the roll for 1518–19 as £161 11*s.* 1½*d.* The fact is that the scribe has copied the deficit on the *billa* for St. Margaret's chancel by mistake. The mistake was not rectified subsequently: thus Islip gained about £54 by having a larger deficit entered on his account than he ought to have had.

[4] 73 ft. and 50 ft. The hardhewers only work for short periods of time.

THE NAVE IN 1532

(AS REPRESENTED IN THE ISLIP ROLL)

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St. Margaret's we may conjecture that this was for making steps and thresholds.

The next and last period is from 1524–8, when new masons appear. John Molton and others are occupied in *entayling*, i. e. carving, and are paid by piece-work (*in grosso*).[1] What this entayling was is suggested by an entry in 1525–6: 'Paid to Thomas Nele hardehewer working in the Jesus Chapel (*in capella de Jhū*), 13*s.* 4*d.*' Now we are familiar with the interesting carvings of Islip's arms and rebus upon that chapel: and we know that there remained up till the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century stone screens, bearing Islip's rebus, which enclosed the spaces or chapels under the western towers. Hence we cannot go wrong in assuming that those screens were put up in these years—and that indeed we may consider as the completion of the nave of Westminster, which would be dated accordingly in 1528.[2]

The nave finished, there is a renewal of activity on the part of masons and carpenters. The work on the towers is seriously taken in hand. It would seem that Islip was suddenly filled with a desire to see before his death the northern tower completed, that is to say, brought to a level where it might with decency be left; and he did not scruple to over-spend his income. Accordingly, when he died, he left a deficit of £350 2*s.* 4½*d.* Masons' work had been going on all these years, but since 1505 at a very slow rate, only two masons being as a rule employed. Robert Stowell's tenure of the office came to an end in 1505. He was succeeded by Thomas Redman, and he again in 1516 by Henry Redman. Both of these had been working masons on the staff. In 1528–9 John Molton, who had come to 'entail', and William Taylor, one of the staff, became joint master masons. The same year the staff was increased, 369 loads of stone (including 179 *dol'* of Caen stone) were bought, and £50 2*s.* 6*d.*

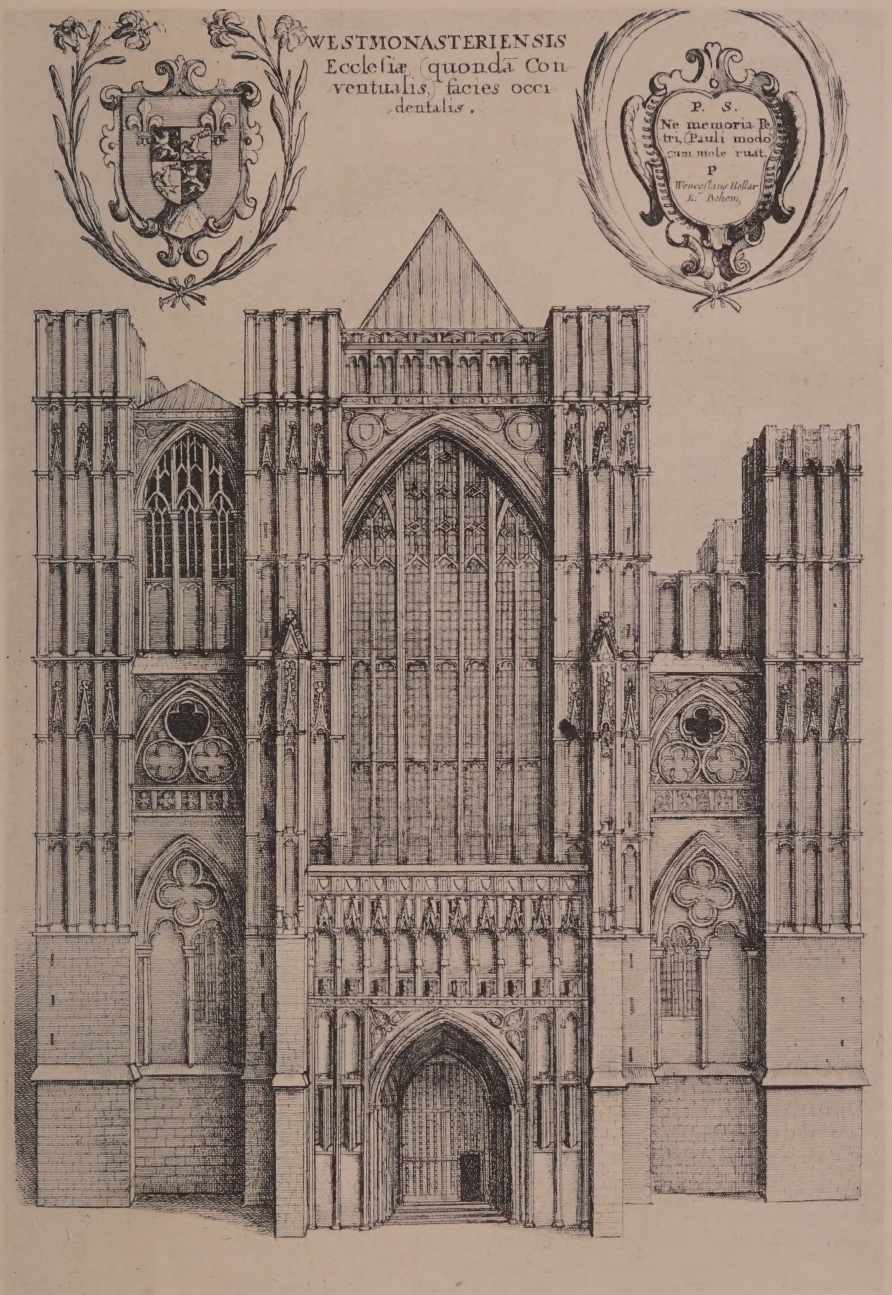
[1] In 1524–5, £1 4*s.* 8*d.*
1525–6, £2
1526–7, £7 9*s.*
1527–8, £6 12*s.*
} = £17 5*s.* 8*d.*

[2] If any one would regard these screens as being ornamental rather than essential, he might date the finish at the completion of the paving in 1517, or, as hardhewers were at work again over the steps, in 1524. Widmore (p. 61) says: 'The building was ended about the year 1500.' There is still later mention of hardhewers, from 1527 to 1531—in 1530–1 with a *roughlaier*, defined the next year as *alias tyler*—but it is not stated that the work was in the nave; no more paving marble was bought after 1516; there is mention of paving elsewhere in the cloister and other parts of the church, and an entry in 1533–4, *paviatori pro le paveynge infra occidental' port' sanctuarii*, suggests that the work in these years was in such places.

was spent on timber and carpenters' work. This points to an active resumption of work on the north tower. The work was maintained the following year. But on May 12, 1532, Islip died at Neyte. His body was brought to the abbey on May 16, and the funeral procession which entered the monastery by the Tothill Street gate was probably the first great ceremonial procession which passed through the new nave. In the initial letter of his obituary roll, commonly known as the 'Islip Roll', there is a picture of the church. The great wheel stands high and conspicuous on the top of the north tower, the third story of which, corresponding to the clerestory of the nave, is all but completed.[1] The south tower also *seems* to be completed, and roofed at the level of the top of the clerestory, but here the evidence of the roll conflicts with that of Hollar's pictures, one in Dugdale (1653), and another in the Pepys collection at Magdalen College. From these it unmistakably appears that, while the small corner towers or *turriculi* stand at a fair height, the walls connecting them have only just passed the triforium level.

The knell that tolled at Islip's death was really a knell for the convent itself. The appointment of his successor, William Boston, a stranger from Peterborough, was the beginning of the end. To judge from the state of the account rolls of the various offices, a paralysis seems to have fallen upon the monastery. Such at least was the case with the *Novum Opus*. There are two rolls of this period still extant, viz., those for 1532–3 and 1533–4, but neither is made up or balanced. In the former year two masons and an apprentice are employed; but in the latter William Taylor works for twenty-eight weeks, and that is all. An interesting historical entry may fitly conclude this history of the *Novum Opus*, for with the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn on the Whit Sunday of 1533 a new era is at hand: *Et sol' paviatori pro reparacione vie circa portas sanctuarii erga coronacionem domine regine et lapidibus tunc emptis* 10*s.* 3*d.*, *Et sol' pro emundacione et le gravelinge ac sandinge sanctuarii et alior' necessar' fact' circa ecclesiam et sanctuarium erga coronacionem domine regine* £7 15*s.* 1*d.* The mention

[1] It is in reliance on the accuracy of the artist of the roll that in this paragraph I have hitherto spoken of the *north* tower. Otherwise I should have inferred from the mention of the bell wheels (pp. 48 and 43 n.) that this tower had already reached the stopping level, and that Islip was now pressing on the raising of the south tower to the same level. The artist has placed an erection over the crossing at the lantern which must be imaginary, unless it represents the dovecote which John Crendon the sacrist made *supra novam ecclesiam* in 1346–7.



THE WEST FRONT IN 1655

[*To face page* 50.

of the sanctuary may perhaps indicate that the coronation procession entered the church, not as hitherto by the north transept, but through the great west door; and, if so, the procession which escorted Anne Boleyn to be crowned was the first coronation procession witnessed by the newly completed nave.

The nave, then, was finished, but not the towers. Yet the fact that they, too, were finished in the eighteenth century is a proof that through, and in spite of, all the changes and vicissitudes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there has remained a continuity of organic life in what is still popularly called, after its ancient title, 'Westminster Abbey.'

APPENDIX I

(A) *Details of marble pillars under Peter Combe* (*pp.* 9, 10)

1387–8	part payment of £40 *pro 1 piler de marmor'*	£10
1388–9	*pro 1 columpna marmorea*	£30
1389–90	[roll missing]	
1390–1	*pro column' marmor'*	£70
1391–2	[roll missing]	
1392–3	[roll missing]	
1393–4	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£80
1394–5	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£40
1395–6	no marble bought	
1396–7	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£40
1397–8	[roll missing]	
1398–9	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£60
1399–1400	[roll missing]	
1400–1	*pro 1 peler de marmor*	£40
1401–2	*pro 1 peler de marmor*	£40
1402–3	[roll missing]	
1403–4	*pro marbill hoc anno*	£80

(B) *Details of ironwork for windows under Peter Combe* (*p.* 11)

The variation in weight for the various windows is perplexing, but I leave it for the consideration of the experts. We must remember that the windows of bays 6, 7 and 8 in the south aisle are only half size owing to the cloister, and they would accordingly seem to be the '3 windows' of 1388–9.

	Ironwork for	£	*s.*	*d.*
1388–9	2 windows weighing together 10 c. = 1120 lb. at 1¾*d.* per lb.	8	3	4
	3 windows weighing together 9 c. = 1008 lb. at 1¾*d.* per lb.	7	7	0
1389–90	[roll missing]			
1390–1	no ironwork			
1391–2	[roll missing]			
1392–3	[roll missing]			
1393–4	no ironwork			
1394–5	1 window weighing 4 c. 1 qr. 3 lb. = 479 lb. at 1¾*d.* per lb.	3	10	0
1395–6	3 windows weighing together 18½ c. 21 lb. = 2093 lb. at 16*s.* 4*d.* per c. [= 1¾*d.* per lb.] .	15	6	0
1396–7	1 window [weight not given, approx. 1050 lb.] .	7	13	0
1397–8	[roll missing]			
1398–9	no ironwork			

There is no further mention of ironwork for windows till 1413–6.

APPENDIX II

On a point of difference from Mr. Micklethwaite (*p.* 31)

In his diagram of the Abbey, given in Feasey and Micklethwaite's *Westminster Abbey*, 1899, Mr. Micklethwaite has marked the clerestory of bay 5 and the roof of bays 5 and 6 as '1500–1512'. The reasons he gives for this are two: (1) 'In the vaulting of the last bays [i. e. 5 and 6] there are Tudor badges' (p. 87); and (2) 'The clearstory windows in the bay of junction do not range either with those to the east of them or

those to the west of them' (p. 88, note). Now while agreeing with him as to his date of the vaulting, I have put the clerestory and roof of bay 5 down to 1468–70, and the roof of bay 6 to 1474.

It is no light matter to differ from so great an authority, but I must first point out that the documents have revealed many new facts which were unknown to Mr. Micklethwaite. Thus he did not know that the roofing was not begun till 1469, else he would not have assigned the rest of the roofing, other than these two and the last bays, to Henry V's time. Nor did he know that the stone vaulting was put up quite independently of the roofing and after the roof had been completed; else he would not have written 'I think the upper vault was nearly all done [before Henry V's death]', (p. 87), and this fact rather invalidates his first argument above for the late date of the roof in question.

Had Mr. Micklethwaite been aware of the new facts, I feel sure that he would have modified his judgement. It seems clear from the documentary evidence that the roof which was begun in 1469 was finished by 1479, that is, except a portion at the west end. We hear first of one bay, then of three bays, then—to judge from the quantity of lead—of at least three bays more. In 1490–1 and in 1501–2 large quantities of lead are bought, so that in one of those years the west end must have been finished off. But there is no indication then of any finishing off at the east end of the roofing also. And when the vaulting of the east end of the nave is taken in hand in 1504–5, there is no mention of any roofing at the same time.

If, then, bays 5 and 6 had been roofed before 1479, the clerestory walls of bay 5 must have been finished also; and I do not suppose that there is any architectural feature in the windows of that bay which would not suit 1468 as well as 1500–12. If Mr. Micklethwaite had known that Millyng roofed just one bay and then left it for five years, I think he would have agreed that bay 5 was the one most likely to have been then taken in hand, as has been argued on p. 31.

In conclusion, there is a small point which bears out my argument. On Mr. Micklethwaite's theory there must have been in the clerestory a great open space and *two* partitions between the old work and the new. But we learn that in 1486–8 (p. 42) they were only separated by canvas stretched on a wooden frame.

APPENDIX III

The Keys of the Vaulting (*pp.* 40, 41, *and* 47)

On referring to the plan of the vaulting, for which I am indebted to Mr. Gladwyn Turbutt, it will be seen that the figured or significant keys are as follows:—

A group of figured bosses in bays 5 and 6 which will be described below—they include with others the arms of the Abbey and of St. Edward, and a Tudor rose.

St. Peter's arms, i.e. the cross keys, between bays 6 and 7.

A Tudor rose between bays 7 and 8.

An IHS in the centre of bay 9.

A portcullis flanked by the arms of St. Edward (east) and of the Abbey (west), in the twelfth or tower bay.

An ihu under the south tower, and the Abbey arms under the north tower.

The Abbey arms in the westernmost bay of the south aisle, and a Tudor rose in the easternmost bay of the north aisle.

If Esteney began his vaulting at the seventh bay, as is maintained in the text (p. 41), the keys of St. Peter must be due to him, and the Tudor rose will show that this bay could not have been completed until after August 1485.

The IHS in bay 9 occupies the middle point in Esteney's work. The Dean of Westminster has recently discussed the use of this symbol in the Abbey in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1907; so here we need only compare the (?) unique ihu under the south tower with the inscription on Esteney's tomb Exultabo in Deo ihu meo (Hab. iii. 18)[1].

Esteney must also have been responsible for the Abbey arms in the south aisle (p. 42), and therefore for the same arms under the north tower. For these two are similar in form and have the mitre *dexter*, so differing from the other two representations in the sixth and twelfth bays, which have the mitre *sinister*.

In the tower bay we have an undoubted badge of Henry VII, the portcullis, with the arms of St. Edward and of the Abbey—the latter with mitre *sinister*. The history has shown us that this bay could hardly have been finished in Esteney's time, and so the portcullis is due to Fasset or Islip.

[1] There is an ihs over the entrance to Islip Chapel. I should conjecture that this had served as a Jesus Chapel before Islip appropriated it for his chantry; and when he did so, he put in a floor and made a second chapel above to serve for the special worship customary in the Jesus Chapel.

We are now left with the fifth and sixth bays, which are distinguished from the others by an elaborate scheme of shields and badges as well as by the later form of the work.

The sixth is the central bay in the long line of roof between the western towers and the lantern; and in its centre is a Catharine wheel. This is flanked north and south by blank shields, and east and west—like the portcullis in bay 12—by St. Edward's martlets (east), and the Abbey arms (west) of a type similar to those in bay 12.

Between bays 5 and 6 there is a large helmet on a shield, surmounted by a (?) cap of maintenance with mantling. The shield is apparently quartered; but it is difficult to see, and what appears to be quartering may be the cross keys. The significance of this boss I do not understand, but it is probably some royal device, as Henry VII was jealous of his cap of maintenance.

In the centre of bay 5 is a blank shield, but its angel supporters who hold up a crown show that it is meant for the royal arms of Henry VII. East of this is a Tudor rose, and south what may be a rose in a fetterlock, and if so we have two emblems of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. West and north are two blank shields. These blank shields, of which there are five altogether, are characteristic of these two bays; and the form of the shield with a hole for the spear is a late one. They were of course meant to be painted: possibly they were painted, but the colour is all gone now.

From this examination the fifth appears to be the royal bay, while the sixth represents the Abbey. But why is the place of honour in the sixth bay, and in the whole nave, filled by a Catharine wheel? The answer probably is to be found in the fact that it is a badge which unites the Abbey and the Royal family, the Church and State. Henry VII was proud of his descent from Catharine of Valois, the queen of Henry V, and St. Catharine held an honourable position at Westminster. The Norman chapel of the Infirmary was dedicated to her; and at Islip's funeral hers was one of the four banners of the saints which were carried close to his body.[1] But there is more than this. Princess Catharine of Aragon had arrived in England on Oct. 2, 1501, and on the following Nov. 15 was married to Prince Arthur, and these events were the occasion of much popular pride and rejoicing in England. The prince indeed died on April 2, 1502, but Catharine was betrothed to his brother Henry on June 25, 1503. Now the date of the *nova volta* was 1504–5 (p. 47). This coincidence of dates cannot be neglected; and it serves to clench the identification of this *nova volta* with the vaulting of bays 5 and 6, which were left undone by Esteney when he began the vaulting in 1482.

[1] Widmore, p. 207. The others were B. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Edmund.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the possibility of Esteney having begun his vaulting at the west end, i. e. with bay 11, and having worked eastwards—a view held by Mr. Francis Bond. In this case the difficulty about the Tudor badges disappears, and Esteney could well have completed the vaulting by 1498, which would agree with the testimony of John Felix (p. 35). Against this are three objections: (1) Stowell's convention in 1488–9 (p. 41) included 'the arch at the top of the nave', and what can this be but the arch between bay 11 and the tower bay? (2) The vaulting could not have been completed by 1491–2, for in that year Esteney bought the '20 big stones too big for a cart' (p. 43): but after that year there is no mention in the rolls of any vaulting in Esteney's time, except for the side aisles. (3) What could the *nova volta* of 1504–5 have been which required so much work for scaffolding and centres? For these reasons I adhere to the view expressed in the text, viz. that Esteney began with bay 7 and worked westwards.

If this interpretation of the vaulting be correct, it gives a further illustration of the history of the times. Esteney, the friend of Millyng, was, we may presume, Yorkist in feeling. In 1486 he leased his house at the Abbey to Queen Elizabeth Wydvyle (*Abbey Register*, p. 4), though she was not allowed to enjoy it. Esteney then put no Tudor badges on his vaulting, except one Tudor rose, and Henry VII did nothing for the Abbey in Esteney's days. Fasset's abbacy was too short to be significant. His successor Islip enjoyed Henry's confidence and friendship. The king now begins to build his magnificent Lady Chapel; and the grateful abbot studs his vaulting with the royal arms and badges.[1]

APPENDIX IV

The Cost of the Work

I HAVE collected in (A) all the receipts of the *Novum Opus*, with averages for the missing years and any extra payments which I have come across which are not entered among the receipts of the office; in (B) I have distributed this sum among the various contributors. Unfortunately the figures can only be taken as approximations, as we labour under two difficulties, (1) the number of years for which the accounts are missing; (2) our limited knowledge of expenditure outside the office.

[1] Perhaps this is too fanciful. The keystones were all bought by 1491–2 (p. 43), and the subjects may have been chosen, and the carving begun, some time before the keys were put in their place in the roof.

The greatest defect in the calculation is our ignorance as to how much was spent on the nave by Litlyngton. I have only ventured to put down the two payments which we know Langham to have made in his lifetime, with the minimum income of the *N. O.* for those years. The second list suffers most from these difficulties, as, except in some cases, I have not calculated averages but only put down the actual gifts recorded. Thus it is probable that Richard II gave £100 or £200 more than is put down, and we are told that he gave some jewels also. Henry VII left 500 marks to the *N. O.* which does not appear in the accounts, and therefore I have omitted it. The abbots especially suffer in this way, for I think it is extremely probable that Millyng and Esteney may have spent more out of their private purse than appears.

The final result is that we get a sum total of £24,221, and if we add £779 as quite a modest estimate of the Cardinal's money spent in 1376–87 with the cost of glazing the aisle windows (p. 31), we get a round sum of £25,000. But we have seen that a large part of the income of the *Novum Opus* and other convent revenues (roughly £14,400) was spent in working, estate, and other expenses. For these we must estimate a sum between one-third and one-fourth; for the sake of the round figure let us say £4,000. This would leave £21,000 as the actual cost of building the nave: a sum which would represent in modern values, if we multiply by 12½, £252,000; if by 15, £315,000.

A.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1376–87 (*Litlyngton*)	. . .	868 0 0
N. O. £52 for 9 years (pp. 5, 7) .	468 0 0	+(?)
Langham, £200 for 2 years . .	400 0 0	
1387–99 (*Peter Combe*)	. . .	2977 4 6
N. O. for 8 years £782 10*s.* 10¾*d.* and 2 months £30 16*s.* 2*d.* *plus* average for 4 years £391 5*s.* 5¼*d.*	1204 12 6	
Richard II gifts £293 6*s.* 8*d.*+?		
Folkestone £114 13*s.* 4*d.*+[£60]	1294 13 4	
Stoke £666 13*s.* 4*d.*+[£160]		
Queen Anne's funeral and anniversaries	351 5 4	
John of Gaunt	66 13 4	
Litlyngton's legacy (p. 8) . .	60 0 0	

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1399–1413 (*Ralph Tonworth*)				956	11	6
N. O. for 7 years	453	17	6			
and 2 months	8	16	6			
plus average for missing 7 years	453	17	6			
Stoke	40	0	0			
1413–22 (*Henry V*)				4452	0	8
Henry V £3230 13*s.* 4*d.*						
plus average for missing payments £630 6*s.* 8*d.*	3861	0	0			
N. O.	591	0	8			
1422–67 (*Harweden, Kyrton* and *Nornych*)				3744	0	0
1422–55						
N. O. for 16½ years	1278	0	2			
plus average for 16½ years	1278	0	2			
1455–67 (p.19)						
N. O. for 10 years	992	17	8½			
plus average for missing years	195	1	11½			
1467–71 (*Millyng*)				752	3	5
N. O.	552	2	5			
Deficits excused	162	5	0			
Rogerson's bill (p. 31)	37	16	0			
1471–97 (*Esteney*)				5247	16	2
N. O. £3945 11*s.* 6¼*d.*						
plus average for 3 years £514 15*s.* 5¾*d.*	4460	7	0			
Esteney's contribution to the vaulting	119	0	0			
Legacy not entered in account	69	0	0			
Deficit (excused by Fasset)	599	9	2			
1497–1500 (*Fasset*)				432	19	5½
N. O.	432	19	5½			
1500–32 (*Islip*)				4454	2	10
N. O.	3839	4	10¾			
plus average for 2 years	264	15	6¾			
Islip's deficit	350	2	4½			
1532–4 (*Boston*)				336	1	5½
N. O. for 3 years, say	336	1	5½			
				£24,221	0	0

B.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Kings				6066	8	4
Richard II, £1685 18*s.* 8*d.*						
Gifts in money	293	6	8+(?)			
Folkestone £114 13*s.* 4*d.*+[£60] =	174	13	4			
Stoke £706 13*s.* 4*d.*+[£160] =	866	13	4			
Queen Anne's funeral, &c.	351	5	4			
plus jewels (?)						
Henry V, £3861 0*s.* 0*d.*						
From the Hanaper	2264	0	0			
From other sources	966	13	4			
with average of same for 3½ years	630	6	8			
Edward IV and family, £519 9*s.* 8*d.*						
The King	239	3	0+40 oaks			
The Queen	173	13	4			
The Prince	106	13	4			
Other secular persons (including legacies)				348	19	8
John of Gaunt	66	13	4			
1388–1402	18	4	0			
1468–1490	264	2	4			
Duke of Gloucester, 40 oaks; Sir Tho. Bowcer, 20 oaks } in 1472–3.						
Alderman Jenyng, a fodder of lead in 1501–2.						
Abbots				1232	4	7
Langham	400	0	0			
Litlyngton	60	0	0			
Millyng	53	15	5			
Esteney	119	0	0			
Fasset	599	9	2			
The Brethren (individual monks' contributions)				2079	0	0
1468–1522 (pp. 32–3)	1543	3	0			
1523–34	75	13	4			
Average for 5 missing years	145	3	8			
£5 harvest treat (p. 32) for 63 years	315	0	0			
The new pyx (p. 32)				7	14	4
1468–71 (Millyng)	1	19	0½			
1471–98 (Esteney)	3	2	4½			
1498–1500 (Fasset)		9	0			
1500–4 (Islip)	2	3	11			
Indulgences (pp. 38–9)				70	4	5
1476–7	60	0	0			
1480–1	1	7	4			
1497–8	8	17	1			
Convent revenues (= the remainder)				14,416	8	8
				£24,221	0	0

APPENDIX V (A) *Table of*

Kings	*Abbots*	*Priors*
(1327 Edward III)	(1333 Thomas Henley)	(1334 Simon Warewyk)
	1344 Simon Bircheston	
	1349 Simon Langham	1346 Simon Agmondesham
		1349 Simon Langham
		1349 Benedict Chertsey
		1350 Nicholas Litlyngton
	1362 Nicholas Litlyngton	1362 Richard Merston
		1376 Richard Exeter
1377 Richard II		
		1382 John Wratting
	1386 William Colchester	
1399 Henry IV		
		1407 Robert Whately
1413 Henry V		
	1420 Richard Harweden	
1422 Henry VI		
		1435 Nicholas Ashby
	1440 Edmund Kyrton	1440 William Walsh
		1456 John Flete

Officers, &c., 1335–1534

Sacrists	*Wardens of the New Work*	*Master Masons*
John Tothale		
1338 Feb. 17. Robert Curtlington		
1338 Sept. 29. John Mordon		
[?] Hugh Schenegezze	+1341 Simon Berchiston / John Mordon	+1341 (?) Walter le Bole
+1346 John Crendon		
	+1349 John Mordon	+1349 John Palterton
[?]		
+1354 John Mordon		
+1356 John Lakyngheth		
[?] John Bokenhull		
[?] William Bromley		
1364 June 23. Walter Warfield		
1364 Sept. 29. John Somerton		
[?] William Zepswich		
1371 William Mordon	[?1371] William Mordon	
1377 Richard Honyngton		
1383 William Mordon		
+1385 Peter Combe		
	1387 Peter Combe	+1387 Henry Yevele
1399 Ralph Tonworth	1399 Ralph Tonworth	
		1400 William Colchester
1411 Peter Combe		
1412–22 [?]	1412 [?]	
	1413 Richard Harweden	
	[1413–22 Rich. Whityngton and Rich. Harweden]	
	1420 William Sonwell	1420 John Thirsk
	1421 Walter Coggeshall	
+1422 Roger Cretton	1422 Nicholas Ashby	
1433 Edmund Kyrton	1433 Edmund Kyrton	
1440 Thomas Freston		
	+1442 John Frank	
1444 John Flete		
	+1445 John Flete	
1447 Thomas Pomeroy	1447 Mar. 25. Thomas Pomeroy	
1448 Thomas Cornwall		
1450 John Ametsham		
		1452 John Smith
	+1455 Edmund Down	
	1456 John Flete	
	1457 Mar. 25. Thomas Arundell	
	+1459 William Barnell	
		1460 John Redyng

Kings	*Abbots*	*Priors*
1461 Edward IV		
	1462 George Norwych	
		1466 Thomas Millyng
	1469 Thomas Millyng	
		1470 John Esteney
	1474 John Esteney	1474 Thomas Arundell
1483 Edward V		1482 Robert Essex
1483 Richard III		
1485 Henry VII		
		1490 Roger Blake
		1491 George Fasset
	1498 George Fasset	1498 John Islip
	1500 John Islip	1500 William Mane
1509 Henry VIII		
		1528 Thomas Jay
	1532 William Boston	1532 Dionysius Dalyons (or Daliaunce)

Appended note on the windows (*p.* 38)

I utilize this space for completing the table of the cost of ironwork on p. 38 n. [3] thus :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*	
1468	14	8	1½	*pro diversis ferramentis* [including two windows ?]
1468–9	16	0	0	*pro ii nov' fenestr', etc.*
1469–70	12	6	0	*pro duabus novis fenestris in novo opere, etc.*

It will thus be seen that from 1468 to 1477 we have enough ironwork for seven bays of the clerestory (Nos. 5 to 11). After this the iron bills become insignificant ntil the next century.

The item quoted on p. 38 n. [1] runs thus : *In quarteriis in fine ecclesie et pro lowpes et pro sex magnis fenestris in navi ecclesie* 3½ *carect' meremii electi* 29/2 : *et in quarterbord pro fine ecclesie et pro vi fenestris magnis* 65/., whence it is not clear whether six or twelve windows are meant.

These notices, together with the items quoted on pp. 30, 31, 34, 37, 42, 47–8, make up all the allusions to the windows (except the west window) after the year 1468 : and their comparison leads me to suspect that windows *de* or *in navi* = aisle windows ; windows *in novo opere* = clerestory windows.

Sacrists	*Wardens of the New Work*	*Master Masons*
	1461 Thomas Ruston	
+1462 Thomas Ruston		
1467–70 [?]	1467 Dec. 25. Thomas Millyng	
+1470 John Esteney	1470 Thomas Crosse	
	1471 John Esteney	1471 Robert Stowell
1498 George Fassett	1498 George Fasset	
1500 John Islip	1500 John Islip	
		1505 Thomas Redman
1512 William Boston		
		1516 Henry Redman
		1528 John Molton, William Taylor
	1532 William Boston	

NOTE. + signifies that the accounts for the preceding year or years are missing, and therefore the officer may have been in office earlier. The normal time for the entry upon office was Michaelmas.

The materials for the sacrists from 1335 to 1371 are so scanty that the list given is probably incomplete. In Henry VI's reign there are several rolls of the *N. O.* missing, so possibly we may have lost the name of one or more wardens, e. g. between Kyrton and Frank, Pomeroy and Down.

(B) *Table of extant Rolls*

Accounts of the Warden of the New Work :—

From Michaelmas	1341	to November 1,	1344
„	1349	Michaelmas,	1359
„	1360	„	1363
„	1364	„	1365
„	1387	„	1389
„	1390	„	1391
„	1393	„	1397
„	1398	November 25,	1399
Michaelmas	1400	Michaelmas,	1402
„	1403	„	1405
„	1408	„	1409
„	1410	November 22,	1411
„	1412	December 4,	1422
„	1423	Michaelmas,	1424
„	1425	„	1428
„	1429	„	1437
„	1442	„	1443
„	1445	„	1446
March 25,	1447	„	1448
Michaelmas	1449	„	1451
„	1455	„	1458
„	1459	„	1465
„	1466	„	1484
„	1486	„	1488
„	1489	„	1506
„	1507	„	1522
„	1523	„	1534

From this it will appear that out of 193 years (1341–1534), the accounts for 63 years are missing. Besides these we have—

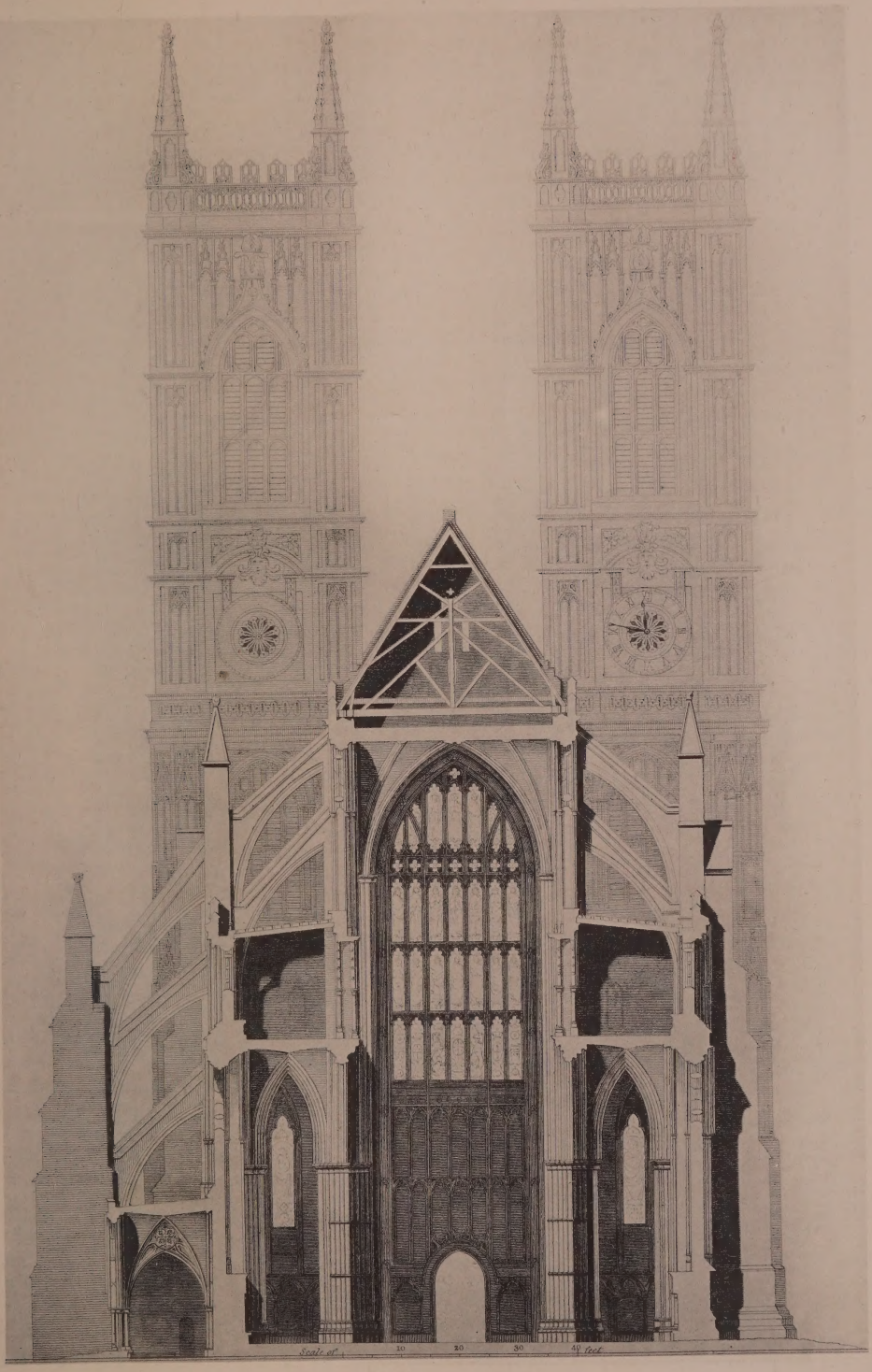
Accounts of Richard Whytyngton and Richard Harweden
from July 7, 1413, to Dec. 25, 1416
Dec. 25, 1417 „ 1418
„ 1420 „ 1421

Account of moneys received from Henry Cays, Warden of the Hanaper, from March 21, 1413, to Aug. 31, 1422

Account of John Flete for making of the Dormitory anno regni regis Henrici sexti xxviii^{mo}

Accounts of William Thornewerk, or other collectors of rents,
from Michaelmas, 1445, to Michaelmas, 1446
„ 1447 „ 1448
„ 1450 „ 1451
„ 1452 „ 1453

Account of Robert Essex, surveyor of the vaulting, from March 23, 1482, to May 11, 1483.



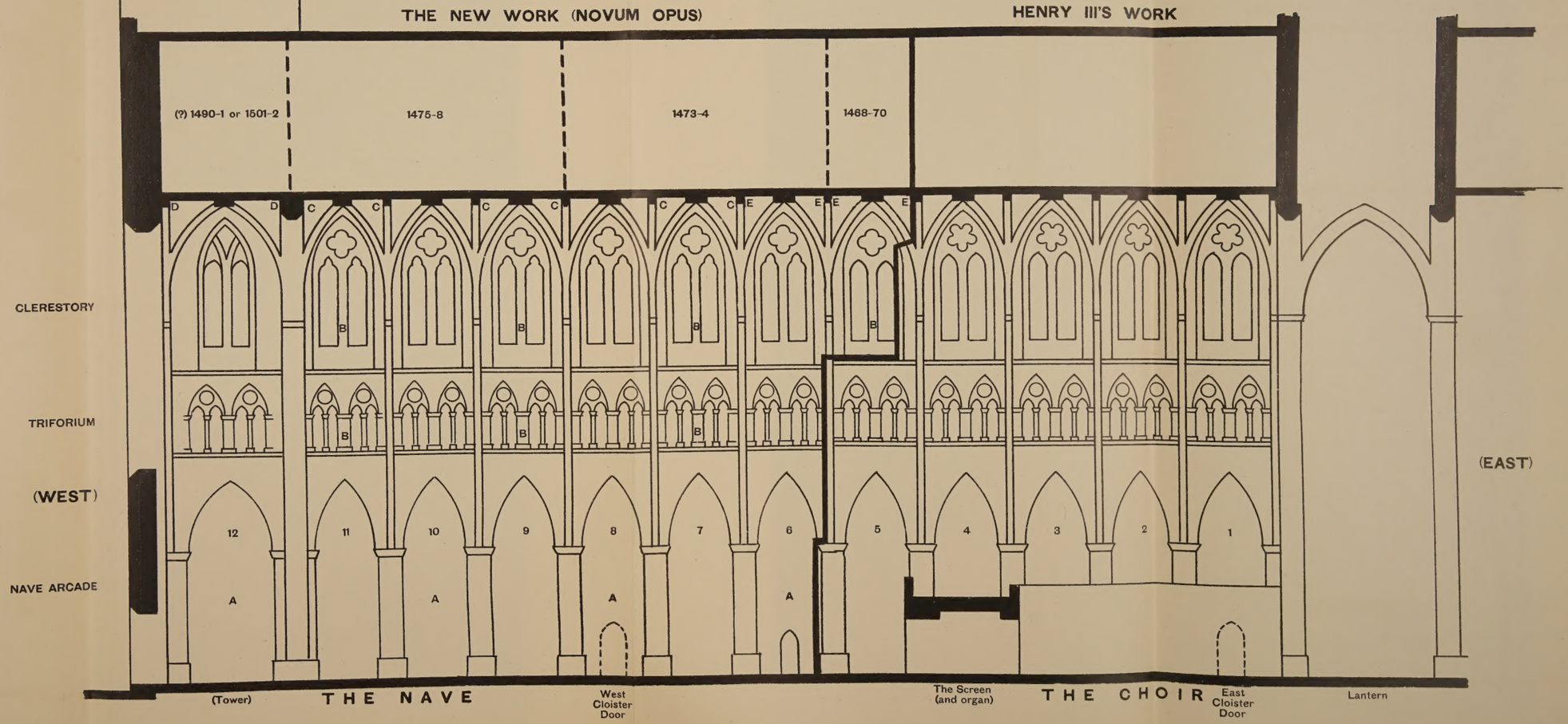
SECTION OF THE NAVE, LOOKING WEST

[To face page 64.

THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

DIAGRAM LOOKING NORTH

AAA... 1376-1400
BBB... 1413-22
Vaulting at CC, CC,... 1482-90
" " DD... 1501-2
" " EE, EE,... 1504-6



A. G. WALLACE
March, 1909

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

KEY PLAN TO VAULTING OF NOVUM OPUS

A Blank shield with angel supporters bearing a crown

B (?) Rose in fetterlock

C Tudor rose

D E H J Blank shield

F Helmet over shield, surmounted by (?) cap of maintenance, with mantling

G Catharine wheel

I St. Edward's arms

K Abbey arms

L St. Peter's arms

M Tudor rose

N IHS

O Portcullis

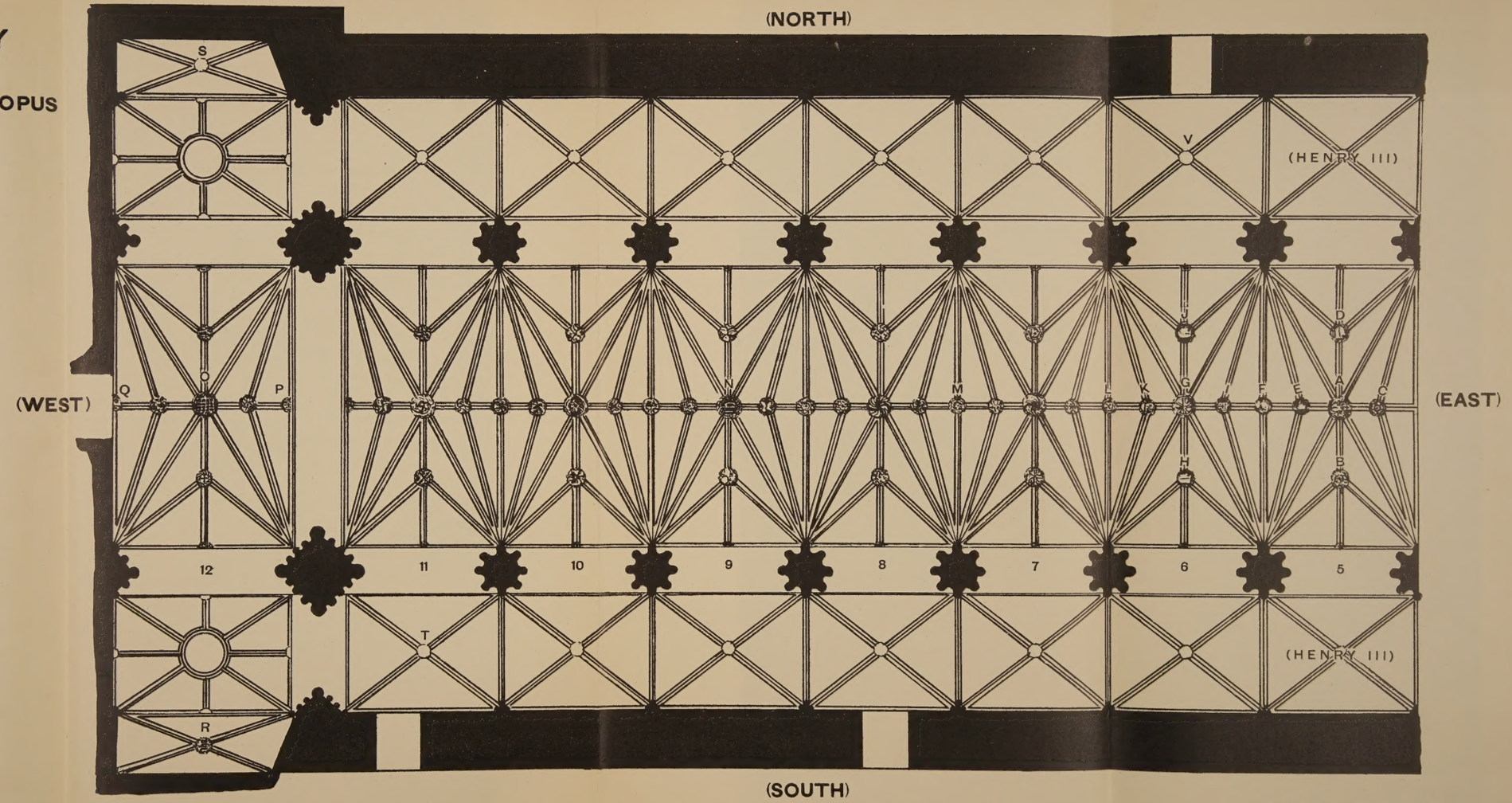
P St. Edward's arms

Q Abbey arms

R ihu

S T Abbey arms

V Tudor rose



G. M. R. TURBUTT
April, 1909

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